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The Shape of Things

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS CLOSED THE door on mediation in the Polish boundary dispute but has not bolted it. In a polite reply to the American offer it expressed appreciation but said that in the Russian view conditions had not yet ripened to the point where good offices could be utilized to advantage. The suggestion that conditions could still ripen to an extent that would make it possible to negotiate the problem is perhaps a hint to the Polish government to make some gesture of good-will before it is too late. An opportunity arose following the report of the Russian experts on the victims of the Katyn massacre. A party of American newspapermen taken to the scene were shown various proofs of the Soviet contention that this wholesale slaughter of Polish soldiers was carried out by the Germans. Unfortunately the Polish government, whose uncritical acceptance of the German version of the Katyn tragedy caused the breach of diplomatic relations with Moscow last year, has not seen fit to seize this occasion to withdraw its allegations against Russia. Nor is there any sign of a reshuffle in the Polish government which would permit the shedding of those members who are not merely unfriendly but actively hostile to the Soviets. In some quarters Mr. Eden's statement in the House of Commons last week is regarded as encouraging the Poles to maintain a stiff attitude. We doubt that this was the Foreign Secretary's intention, although his rather ambiguous phraseology lent itself to misinterpretation. The point of his remarks was that Britain was unwilling to recognize a territorial change accomplished by unilateral action. That is a principle that believers in collective security cannot afford to dispute.

*

THE REPUBLICAN HOWLS WHICH SHOOK THE Capitol's dome after the President sent his message to Congress on the soldier vote issue denoted pain as well as anger. For the G. O. P. leaders suddenly realized that they had been busy sawing themselves off a limb. Mr. Roosevelt, by voicing the increasingly insistent public demand that service-men should not be deprived of their rights as citizens, had merely given the branch a final tug. In their opposition to the original Lucas bill at the end of last year the Republicans had to some extent kept behind a screen of vociferous Southern Demo-

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crats. But in the new session, emboldened by their success, they took over the banner of "states' rights" and led the attack on the new Green-Lucas bill which provides a practical method of recording soldier votes while meeting the more legitimate objections to the original measure. Nevertheless they were sufficiently conscious of the dangerous ground over which they were advancing to seek a method of avoiding a record vote in the House. The President's demand that they "stand up and be counted" together with a Democratic move to upset the rule by which a voice vote could be taken makes it unlikely that the soldier ballot can now be stifled anonymously. No wonder many Democrats who previously had opposed the bill are slipping back into the fold. In their anger Republican spokesmen have blurted out their real reason for trying to limit soldier voting. Debate on the bill would cease at once, said Senator Holman of Oregon, "if the President would remove himself from his unfair and advantageous position as candidate." Republican devotion to "states' rights" is the by-product of a fear that Spangler is wrong and that most soldiers want Roosevelt.

*

IN GRANTING MUSTERING-OUT PAY OF $100 up to $300 to the veterans of this war Congress has taken a first step toward meeting the inevitable difficulties of the transition period from war to peace. The bill as finally passed cut the scale of pay from the $200 to $500 originally proposed by the Senate. This cut could probably be justified if mustering-out pay were part of a comprehensive government scheme for aiding service men and stimulating post-war employment. So far, however, Congress has done little to encourage belief that it will be ready with a rounded post-war program by the time hostilities cease. The President's request for an appropriation to finance a retraining and general educational program for the veterans of this war has not as yet been acted upon. Nor has anything been done to make the veterans eligible for social-security benefits. Although several Congressional committees have been considering public-works projects for many months, none of these plans has yet reached the floor in either house.

*

NO CHANGE IN THIS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE toward post-war planning is likely to result from the appointment by Speaker Sam Rayburn of an eighteen-man bi-partisan committee on post-war economic policy. In the first place the new group is not asked to formulate legislation but merely to act as a clearing house for ideas. Considering its composition, we should, perhaps, be thankful for this limitation. For the majority of the members the Speaker has named are outright reactionaries. The chairman is William H. Colmer of Mississippi, a poll-taxer with a consistent anti-New Deal record, while its ranking Republican member is that epitome of obscurantism—Hamilton Fish. A handful of comparatively liberal members such as Representatives Voorhis of California and Fogarty of Rhode Island can hardly hope to make much headway against the rooted prejudices of the majority of the committee. We note, for instance, that only seven out of the eighteen voted to support the Rural Electrification program last June; only six voted to allocate funds for the roll-back of prices; only six voted against the Smith-Connally Bill. In Chicago recently Speaker Rayburn spoke eloquently of the need for a "people's planning board." But his selection of members of this committee indicates either an appalling ignorance of the problems such a board must tackle or a stupid contempt for the people's vital interest in a post-war economic system in which full employment will enjoy priority over the sacred rights of private enterprise. Speaker Rayburn has recently been touted as a vice-presidential candidate. This revealing action should insure redoubled efforts by liberals and labor to retain Henry Wallace.

*

C. NELSON SPARKS, AUTHOR OF "ONE MAN—Wendell Willkie," has been cleared by the grand jury investigating the Hopkins Letter case of any part in the forgery of that document, but its indictment of his correspondent, George N. Briggs, exposes him as America's champion sucker. In the face of the most emphatic denials of the letter's authenticity by Harry Hopkins and its alleged recipient, Dr. Umphrey Lee, Sparks persisted in trumpeting his "perfect confidence" that it was genuine. Now the grenade he aimed with malicious credulity, hoping it would cripple both Hopkins and Willkie, has exploded in his face.

*

THE DIES COMMITTEE IN ITS CUSTOMARY New Year burst of activity has announced its intention to investigate the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, the Civil Service Commission, alleged Japanese activities on the Pacific Coast, and "Peace Now," an organization urging a negotiated peace. With its customary gullibility, the House has voted an additional $75,000 to defray the "expenses" of the committee for 1944. The nature of Mr. Dies's study of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee has not been disclosed. But we doubt that he expects to uncover Nazi or Japanese spies within the organization. It is more likely that after months of "investigation" he will suddenly spring upon a startled world the disclosure that the C. I. O. is seeking the defeat of Congressmen Smith of Virginia, Rankin of Mississippi, and (sedition!) Dies of Texas. The promised inquiry into the activities of "Peace Now" and the Japanese would seem a legitimate enterprise if we did not have an efficient FBI already operating in that field

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and if the committee had not made similar gestures every January, only to sink into an inexplicable torpor until the moment for the next appropriation came along. There was a time when the Dies committee was a crude but rather effective private Gestapo; it has become merely a clumsy instrument for wasting of taxpayers' money.

*

THE REMARRIAGE OF JOHN L. LEWIS TO THE A. F. of L. has once more been postponed. The bride had forgiven the groom for running away with the C. I. O. in 1936, and she was pleasantly anticipating a cut of the substantial income he is now earning. But she could not stomach the spite-child John had acquired in his years of wandering—young District 50, the apple of its father's eye. To drop the metaphor, the A. F. of L. executive council meeting at Miami rejected for the second time Lewis's demand that the United Mine Workers should be taken back "as is." Instead, it proposed that the union return with the same jurisdiction it had in 1936, after which a committee headed by Dan Tobin would meet with the miners to "clarify" unsettled questions. In support of this stand George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L., had previously sent Lewis details of thirty complaints of trespass by District 50, the U. M. W.'s catch-all subsidiary, filed by member unions. Lewis is said to have replied by yielding his claims to railroad and building-construction employees but insisting on retention of the chemical workers. A believer in the coming chemical age, he wants to be in on the ground floor of this industry after the war. But the A. F. of L., with several unions chartered in the same field, feels impelled to follow its constitutional rules against poaching. Mr. Lewis, kept waiting at the church, is reported to be incensed. After all, he proposed nearly nine months ago and he is not a man to take snubs philosophically.

*

THE MOST CHEERFUL NEWS OF THE PAST week was the passage by the House of the bill to authorize a $1,135,000,000 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The vote, 338 to 54, showed the world how unrepresentative of American opinion were the ugly super-isolationist attacks made upon the UNRRA from the floor of the House during its consideration. We are also gratified that the House, by a vote of 217 to 175, rejected the Vorys amendment, which would have placed UNRRA funds in the hands of the State Department rather than the President. Constitutionally, this amendment was unprecedented and unsound. Politically, it was a slap at the President. We are also happy to note that the House adopted an amendment by Representative Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota, extending the jurisdiction of the UNRRA to any areas that may be stricken with famine or disease. This was intended, and we hope will serve, to permit aid to India.

*

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE WAS AN OLD-TIME American individualist, with a great gusto for life and people, who never made a fetish of consistency and rather enjoyed admitting his mistakes. The secret of his success as The Small-Town Editor lay perhaps in the fact that he combined the often contradictory qualities that Americans like and was never so far out in front of popular opinion as to antagonize—or lose touch with—his readers. He was independent and liberal, and a Republican all his life. He was hard-headed, and he was also sentimental. He was a genial fellow, and he was a prohibitionist and a puritan. He was a practical man who fulfilled the journalist's dream of owning a small-town newspaper, and not only made it pay but became famous to boot. The success story of William Allen White will be the subject of an article in a later issue.

Organized Sadism

EVERY American has been shocked and sickened by the army-navy report on the Japanese treatment of American and Filipino defenders of Bataan and Corregidor. We should have been prepared for the disclosure by similar atrocities at Nanking and Hongkong but no one ever quite appreciates the horror of such barbarity until his own people are involved. It is difficult to believe that even the Japanese would shoot the sick and wounded, would deprive their captives of food and water, and deny them all medical assistance. The occasional brutality of a guard or individual soldier can be understood. Excesses of this type happen in any army. But the cruelty inflicted on the American and Filipino captives was not the work of a few sadistic individuals; it was calculated cruelty ordered, or at least condoned, by high Japanese military authorities.

It is probably impossible to understand the complex workings of the Japanese mind sufficiently to explain why the military authorities should permit such license among troops supposedly highly disciplined. It cannot be set down to utter depravity, for the Japanese treatment of civilian prisoners has been on a higher level. This may be due to the fact that we hold large numbers of Japanese civilians in this country whereas we have taken less than three hundred Japanese as prisoners of war. It is doubtful whether this distinction would appear important to the Japanese. Nor can the brutality toward our men be attributed merely to Japanese resentment against slights at the hands of the white race. After the capture of Nanking the Japanese tortured and killed a hundred Chinese for every American soldier killed

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after the fall of Bataan and Corregidor. Moreover, the Filipinos appear to have suffered even more than the Americans. It would appear rather that the excesses are a regular part of Japanese policy. In each instance—at Nanking in 1937, at Hongkong in 1941, and in the Philippines in 1942—the worst brutality occurred in the days immediately following a military victory—a cold-blooded method of exterminating as many of the enemy as possible without regard to race or color or circumstance.

We are relieved to note that the publication of the report on the latest Japanese atrocities has not provoked any general demand for reprisals in this country. Reprisals could be justified only as a means of forcing Japan to live up to the terms of the Geneva convention in its treatment of prisoners of war. But there are no reprisals available to us which could achieve this result. Any punishment meted out to Japanese civilians still in our hands would only lead to retaliation against American civilians in Japanese prison camps. There is no way of punishing the military authorities responsible for these outrages until Japan has been forced into unconditional surrender. But if there was ever any question regarding the wisdom of the harsh terms for Japan drawn up at the Cairo conference, that hesitancy has now disappeared. For it is amply evident that there can be no peace or security in the Pacific until Japanese militarism has been uprooted and destroyed.

Dishonest and Dangerous

IT IS difficult to imagine a more dishonest and dangerous report than that submitted by the Smith committee of the House of Representatives on the War Labor Board. The character of the majority report was to be expected from the character of the Congressmen dominating it. The chairman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, has been the leading spokesman of anti-labor interests in the House. Of his colleagues, two, Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan and Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey, are outstanding rightists. The former's inflammatory attacks on labor have long disgusted decent conservatives as well as liberals, and the best that can be said of Hartley is that he is a bird-brained Republican from North Jersey, who has been a faithful member of the Dies committee.

The principal effect of the report is to make it appear that the War Labor Board exceeds its powers in ordering maintenance-of-membership agreements. The best answer to this may be found in the facts presented by Jerry Voorhis and John J. Delaney, who submitted a minority report. The Connally-Smith War Labor Disputes Act—the Smith is the same Howard W. Smith—gave the WLB power "to decide the dispute and provide by order the wages-and-hours and all other terms and conditions (customarily included in collective bargaining agreements.)" The parenthesis is part of the original. At the time the act was passed, the WLB had been in existence for a year and a half and ordered maintenance-of-membership agreements in 165 cases. When the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes bill was before the House, the same Howard W. Smith offered an amendment from the floor specifically denying the WLB the right to include maintenance of membership in its orders. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 204 to 73. On the Senate side the Military Affairs Committee rejected a provision outlawing maintenance of membership before reporting the bill to the Senate. These facts fully warrant the designation of the Smith report as dishonest.

Maintenance-of-membership agreements seem to us a fair compromise between the wishes of employers, who wanted a war-enforced open shop, and the wishes of the unions, which felt strong enough in many cases to demand a union or closed shop. Maintenance of membership accords fully with the President's statement at the time of the "no-strike" conference between labor and management after Pearl Harbor. The President expressed the hope that neither side would seek "undue advantage" from the circumstances of the no-strike pledge. If any advantage has been taken, it has not been from the side of labor.

The Smith-committee majority seeks by a typical bit of corporation-lawyer jesuitry to prove that maintenance-of-membership agreements violate the National Labor Relations Act. But Section 8 of that act, on which the Smith committee relies, deals with anti-labor practices by employers, and the act itself specifically provides that Section 8 shall not be construed to prohibit or prevent employers and labor organizations from entering into maintenance-of-membership or even closed-shop agreements. This is another example of the committee's dishonest handling of the facts.

If reform is needed in the War Labor Board, and it is, the reform is in the direction of speeding and tightening up the settlement of grievance and wage disputes. There is ample evidence that many employers have taken advantage of the no-strike pledge to ignore grievance machinery, and the unrest created has been intensified by the board's cumbersome and dilatory procedures. It is at this point that the board needs strengthening. The recommendations of the Smith committee would add to our labor troubles by further weakening our principal agency for the peaceful adjudication of labor disputes.

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Because of a change in the schedule of the American News Company, *The Nation* hereafter will be put on sale in New York City on Fridays instead of Thursdays. *In other cities there will be no change.*

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Spain and Argentina

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS best to speak plainly about Argentina's break with Hitler. Already the meaning of the act is being smeared over with the usual opaque coating of official pronouncements and inspired, simplified interpretations. The New York *Times* on Sunday printed what was doubtless the State Department's version in a Washington dispatch by Bertram D. Hulen. After a review of past difficulties between Argentina and the United States, and an optimistic prediction of cordial relations in the immediate future, Mr. Hulen sums up the situation in these words: "In the event that Bolivia cleans house and Argentina takes sufficient measures in carrying out the spirit of her action in severing relations, the entire Western Hemisphere will be sealed to the Axis."

The Argentine government has explained the break in similarly ingenuous terms. It was the sudden, shocking discovery of a widespread network of Nazi plotting and espionage, growing out of the arrest in Trinidad of an Argentine consul, Osmar Alberto Hellmuth, on charges of German espionage, that forced the government to take immediate steps to protect the sovereignty and security of Argentina. According to another *Times* correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, cabling from Buenos Aires, the Argentine government was "sincerely indignant when investigations that followed Hellmuth's arrest revealed the extent of German illicit activities." Thereupon Argentina decided to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan.

Such official and near-official "explanations" so blatantly insult public intelligence that perhaps they do little harm. Unfortunately the truth comes through slowly, and piecemeal. Behind the break is Ramirez's consistent record of collaboration with Hitler and his efforts, directly and through Nazi and Phalangist agents, to build up a fascist anti-United Nations bloc in Latin America. German penetration in Argentina and German espionage reaching out from Argentina through the hemisphere are of course an old story. The attempt to link their "discovery" with the Hellmuth arrest is not likely to deceive anyone but Mr. Cortesi. But it was the intimate collaboration of the Ramirez regime and the German embassy at Buenos Aires in engineering the Bolivian revolt that finally moved Washington to act. The recall of Ambassador Armour from Buenos Aires was decided upon, after the facts had been fully assembled, and the British and American governments were completing joint plans for applying economic sanctions against Ramirez. Before they could be carried out, Ramirez himself acted.

The struggle within the Argentine regime over this decision was severe. The GOU (Grupo Oficiales Unidos), made up of the extreme nationalist and pro-Axis officers who had put Ramirez in power, acquiesced in the break only after a bitter fight. Some of them not only opposed the government's decision but demanded a break with the United States instead. The government held up its announcement until it had won the group over. And even then, in publishing his decision, Ramirez warned the press "not to give exaggerated importance to the act." The pro-Allied newspaper *Critica* was suspended for recalling the fact that Nazi espionage had existed before the Hellmuth arrest, thus raking up "old charges" against a country which until the day before had been "friendly." The Ramirez regime, while yielding to the Allies, was careful at the same time to conciliate the Axis and its friends in Argentina.

How far the Argentine government will have to go "in carrying out the spirit of her action in severing relations," as the *Times* put it, depends upon the pressure brought in Washington and London. The State Department will at least demand a general clean-up, and the most notorious enemy agents will undoubtedly disappear from view with the closing of the Axis embassies and consulates. But the Western Hemisphere will never be "sealed to the Axis" as long as the Argentine regime remains fascist in purpose and method—and as long as Franco's agents, there and throughout Latin America, serve as listening posts and propaganda centers for the fascist revolution.

The role prepared for Spain in the future plans of the Fascist International is well described by Dorothy Thompson on another page of this issue. Franco is Hitler's key man in Latin America. It was the clerk of the Spanish legation in La Paz who acted as paymaster for German and Argentine agents in arranging the Bolivian coup. Every Spanish embassy, legation, and consular office in the Western Hemisphere, whether in a back-country district of Paraguay or in Washington, D. C., is a Nazi headquarters. In some countries, as in Uruguay, where the Spanish legation officially represents German interests, Nazi activities can be, and are, carried on under cover of diplomatic immunity. But even where no such convenient cover exists, Spanish fascist agents do Hitler's work almost as effectively.

It would be foolish to doubt that our government knows all this. It knows, but until now it has chosen to believe that more benefit than harm has resulted from our continued friendly relations with Spain. Today things appear to be changing. The stiff note addressed to Franco last week seemed to imply that even the iron-clad patience of British-American diplomacy was wearing thin. It would be rash to assume that this protest is the forerunner of a break with Franco. He, too, has learned how to yield just enough to forestall drastic action from the Allies, and hold open Hitler's pipe-line to the Americas. But one fact is clear: while Franco holds power in Spain Hitler's work goes on in Latin America.

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Anti-Labor Field Day

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 28

THE campaign for national-service legislation is beginning to take on the most serious aspect. Whatever the intentions of Secretary Stimson and Under Secretary Patterson, the drive they are leading has become a concerted attack upon labor. It is hurting the morale of workers, and it is not helping the morale of soldiers. On the contrary, recent speeches seem designed to drive a wedge between labor and the army and to build up a dangerous antagonism between them for the post-war period. The campaign is also becoming an attempt to build up an alibi for the lag in war production, and perhaps also, as General Marshall's off-the-record press conference indicated, for possible military reverses in the field.

This campaign seems to stem from two sources. One is the military bureaucracy. The other is the small group of corporation lawyers who framed the Austin-Wadsworth bill, a measure which shows little if any understanding of the problem of mobilizing man-power in a total war and would convert American industry into one vast open shop. The most important men in this group seem to be Grenville Clark, of Root, Clark, Buckner, and Ballantine, and Douglas Arant, whose firm represents the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Clark is an old friend and Harvard classmate of the President's. The group has access to the Secretary of War through his special assistant, Goldthwaite H. Dorr. Their contact man with the Senate Military Affairs Committee and their principal Congressional lobbyist is Colonel Lewis H. Sanders, a gentleman who repeatedly announces that "surveys" show the need for a national-service act but who rarely, if ever, turns up with any concrete figures to prove it.

It is the military who are the dominant power in Washington today, and the fact was demonstrated anew in the Presidential message recommending national service as part of a five-point program. Some of the civilians closest to the President have told friends that national service was not in the final draft of the message the night before its delivery. Director of War Mobilization James F. Byrnes, who is second in command to the President, claims that he did not know national service was to be recommended until he saw the mimeographed advance copy of the message the morning of its delivery. National service is said on good authority to have gone in and out of the message several times. Some people believe a factor in the last-minute change was the President's desire to have General Marshall as a running-mate if the Republicans nominate General MacArthur for Vice-President.

From all I can learn, the advice of the War Production Board as well as of the War Manpower Commission was against national service, and there is good reason to believe that this was also the advice of Baruch. I am also told that Under Secretary Patterson, despite an impassioned appeal, met with a cool reception from the Navy Department's top civilian officials. This seems to be a War Department show, and in running it the War Department has completely dropped the rest of the President's five-point program. The War Department seems to want national service and nothing else. Secretary Stimson has gone on the air with an intemperate and unfair attack on labor. Perhaps the most effective answer to it is the admission made the very next day to the Senate Military Affairs Committee by his own Under Secretary. "It would be unfair and untrue," Judge Patterson said, "to give any impression that strikes have generally prevented the fulfilment of War Department production schedules." Yet that was exactly the impression Secretary Stimson gave. I would call attention to one other statement made by the Under Secretary. "A national-service act will not stop all strikes. . . . The no-strike pledge of labor must remain, as in the past, the cornerstone of our program." Unfair attacks upon labor, the War Department needs to be reminded, will not make it easier for labor leaders to keep that pledge.

I have the highest respect for the Under Secretary of War. We are fortunate to have so fine and honorable a man in so important a position. He has consistently opposed anti-labor legislation in the past, and he has been courageous on many occasions in dealing with big business. But anyone who spends a day at the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission checking the Under Secretary's testimony on man-power and production lags will not come away impressed. I have not the space to go into detail, but I want to take up one instance. The Under Secretary mentioned ball bearings. This is one of the last of the so-called "critical components" which is still critical. Ball bearings are vital to the war program. Patterson told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that the lag in producing ball bearings was due to "inability to get enough workers." He said there were "plenty of people living in the vicinity" of the plants, but "some of them would rather make hats, toys, artificial flowers, or gadgets. . . ." I beg the Under Secretary of War to brush aside the brass hats and look into this situation for himself. It will open his eyes, not

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merely to the facts about ball bearings, but to a typical situation in war production and to the quality of the advice he has been getting.

The Under Secretary will find that the ball-bearings industry has difficulty recruiting workers because its wages are low, its working conditions bad, and its labor relations archaic. He will find that the War Labor Board has been slow in permitting wage adjustments. He will find that his own procurement officers, despite countless directives, are still putting contracts for civilian-type requirements, easily obtained elsewhere, into areas where there is a shortage of labor for ball bearings. Two hundred new war contracts, many of this type, have but recently been placed in central Connecticut, hub of the ball-bearings industry. The Under Secretary will also find that consistent production scheduling has yet to be introduced into the industry; no real attempt has been made to rearrange orders so that plants can concentrate on one style of ball bearings instead of shifting from one to another. He will also find that the ball-bearings industry has just begun to take two of the most obvious and elementary steps required to speed production. One is to share its patents and know-how, and the other is to teach smaller shops enough of its jealously guarded processes to make wider farming out possible. Ball bearings, like every one of the other specific cases discussed by the Under Secretary, is much more than a simple man-power problem.

I do not deny that man-power is a problem too, but it is only a problem as regards skilled workers in crucial areas. I think it is labor's duty to work out special programs, perhaps in the shape of mobile battalions of skilled workers, to meet this need. But all I have heard from Stimson, Patterson, and Marshall convinces me that the military bureaucracy, whose control of procurement gives it final control of man-power mobilization, lacks the competence to administer national service effectively. With sharply growing unemployment just ahead of us, to place compulsion in the hands of the military would serve only to upset production and embitter labor.

Germany at Bay

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S recent prediction that the European phase of World War II would end in 1944 is a frank recognition of a situation that is becoming increasingly clear. A Germany still strong and aggressive is being increasingly overmatched by three other great powers. Since November of 1942 the Reichswehr has not won a single major victory, and the Axis has met defeat on half a dozen different fronts. Today the war has reached a point where observers are speculating whether the final blow will be struck by rapidly advancing Russian armies in the east or an Anglo-American invasion force on a new western front. While there should be no tendency to underrate the difficulty and cost of the tasks ahead or the desperate resistance which the Nazis may put up, it is not too far-fetched to say that 1944 will see a friendly race between Roosevelt and Stalin.

The stubborn counter-attacks by which the Germans have tried to hold as much of the Dnieper line as possible are quite understandable. As I have pointed out in earlier articles, the Dnieper River forms one of the strongest barriers to be found in an area largely lacking in natural defenses. In addition the line was backed by a singularly good system of north-south railways. Nowhere in the area farther west was there a better place for a stand. Some of our military commentators criticized the time the efforts made by the Germans last fall to retake Korosten and Zhitomir. Yet the German High Command probably reasoned that the Dnieper should be easier to hold than any line they could withdraw to. And only by fierce counter-attacks could they stave off a major disaster in the Dnieper bend. Those launched served their immediate purpose, restoring communications between the various parts of the front, but the inability to follow through illustrates the growing military poverty of the Germans. It is obviously becoming more and more difficult for them to counter Russian blows in one sector without stripping other parts of the front of their reserves. This was shown by the crumbling of the army which had so long besieged Leningrad after a powerful Soviet feint in the Nevel region had drawn enemy reinforcements to that spot. Caught off guard, the Germans farther north suddenly found themselves the victims of a pincers movement, as the Red Army drove south from the Baltic, overrunning the German siege lines, and west by the shores of Lake Ilmen, where the major stronghold of Novgorod was taken. This twin offensive sliced through the most vital enemy communications and created a pocket similar to that in the southern Ukraine.

Despite the drama of the relief of Leningrad it is probable that the Dnieper sector, where sixty to seventy Nazi divisions are outflanked, remains the most critical front. This is not, to be sure, the first time the Axis forces

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in the Ukraine have been in a tough spot. On two previous occasions vigorous counter-attacks have held off military disaster. Yet counter-attacks inevitably mean hard fighting and large losses—and the Russians are far better able to bear casualties. Thus even if the Germans are successful in such attacks, their losses will be high and their strategic position still bad on a front rapidly being lengthened by Russian success in pushing out salients elsewhere. Failure would mean obliteration.

The lack of satisfactory defenses farther west is another factor which should cause the Germans to fight fiercely from now until the end of the war. The Bug River might offer a temporary sanctuary. Only one other major river, the Vistula, could be used as a natural barrier, and use of this would mean sacrificing East Prussia and defending a crooked front. Moreover, north-south railway lines, which would be needed to provide lateral communication behind an active front, are scarce in Poland. A possible line of defense well served in this respect would extend from just east of Riga, south through Dvinsk, Vilno, Lida, the Pripet Marshes, and southeastern Poland, and then along the Dniester River. It would be shorter than the present line and constitute a far safer position. If the Germans retired to it, they would of course abandon all the pre-1939 Russian territory they now hold. However, even this front has been partly demolished in eastern Poland. Farther to the west there is nothing nearly so defensible before Germany itself is reached. With East Prussia now only 300 miles away from Russian armies which have advanced, from Stalingrad, a total of 800 miles in fourteen months, the Germans on the eastern front must undergo continued weakening, if they do not meet a military disaster far worse than that of Stalingrad.

The prospects on the as yet non-existent western front are harder to gauge. For several months American troops have been pouring into the British Isles by the hundred thousand. The appointment of invasion commanders is also complete, though the names of some have not yet been made public. Incidentally, the choice of Eisenhower for commander-in-chief is as good as could have been made. Preliminary bombing of the Channel Coast defenses has been under way for several weeks. The necessity of this advanced softening up greatly lessens the chances of surprise in any attack upon fixed positions. It cannot, of course, be stated that the Allied invasion will be limited to areas bordering the English Channel, thought recent aerial operations indicate that we shall try to establish a wide bridgehead on the north coast of France. Several attacks, some of them feints to deceive the enemy as to the major objective, are certain to be launched.

The recent landings below Rome have brought a welcome speeding up to the Italian campaign. The strategy of this move was so obvious that the only surprise was over the fact that it had not been made earlier. The Germans plainly expected it last fall and for that reason kept large reserves in the Po Valley. A shortage of landing craft caused by blunders in the navy's Bureau of Ships mainly necessitated the delay, though the secondary status of the Italian campaign in the strategy of the war as a whole probably made Allied leaders even less willing to furnish the required shipping. The delay may have worked to our advantage by permitting a surprise which would have been less likely four months ago. We still have strong cards to play in the Mediterranean, and the Germans as they retreat cannot rule out other landings to the north or attacks elsewhere.

For the Germans the situation contains some elements of strength and many of weakness. Rommel, probably the best leader of land forces that the war has produced, will be directing the defense. The troops at his command are estimated at forty to forty-five divisions. Not all of them are first class, since some are punch-drunk from fighting the Russians and others are Axis satellite troops of uncertain morale; a number of divisions are well below their normal combat strength and greatly need replacements. Some additional divisions—eight to ten in all—might be obtained by abandoning Norway, no longer of much value to Germany now that it has lost both the Battle of the Atlantic and all reasonable hope of stopping supplies to Russia. The recently called sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds form a last reserve, at the very bottom of the man-power barrel.

The Germans have undoubtedly assigned some of their troops to the beach defenses and some to a mobile reserve farther inland which can be rushed to the point of attack. They are reported to have evacuated the population within eighteen miles of the coast in an effort to discourage sabotage and other fifth-column activities in aid of the invaders. Anything resembling complete shore defenses along a long coastline is out of the question. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the harbors and beaches most suitable for landing will be heavily mined. Concrete blockhouses, gun emplacements, barbed wire, and machine-gun nests will also be encountered. German practice elsewhere indicates that depth will be a feature of these defenses. An indeterminate amount of air opposition should also develop.

Landing on a heavily fortified enemy coast is one of the hardest of all military problems, and we must expect bad losses. Sea and air superiority give an enormous advantage; indeed, without them such an operation would be impossible. But as other actions have shown, they are not enough. The decisive step must be taken the hard way by individual infantrymen who, braving heavy casualties, overcome enemy defenses and hold off attack until artillery and tanks can be landed and can then spread out. This step is an especially critical one, and in our

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case it must be undertaken by troops who, though well trained, have had little or no previous battle experience. In the "know-how" that comes from many fights the Germans have a very important advantage.

With the invasion of Western Europe will come a change of emphasis in aerial warfare. Ever since the fall of France the R. A. F., and more recently our own Army Air Force, has been employed mostly in strategic bombing as distinguished from tactical (in support of ground forces). In fact, a strong tendency on the part of some airmen to overlook the cooperative use of air power has only recently been corrected. As an individual striking weapon the bomber has great achievements to its credit. It has certainly damaged German industry and morale and made the path of Allied armies easier. Some 284,000 tons of bombs dropped on Europe during 1943 is a record which speaks for itself. But when the invasion starts, the main task of air power will be direct cooperation with land armies; cutting down the enemy's war potential will be distinctly secondary.

The sinking of the Scharnhorst in the Arctic and of other German surface vessels in the Bay of Biscay should very nearly end the fight for domination of the Atlantic shipping lanes. New anti-submarine weapons have robbed the once dreaded U-boat of most of its potency. Often underrated, this battle between Allied sea power and German under-sea power has been second to none in its effect on the outcome of the war. Its loss would have meant German victory, whereas experience shows that the United Nations can lose on three land fronts without being defeated as long as they control the seas.

Simultaneously with the invasion of Europe should come somewhat faster action in the Pacific, for at last our navy has a decisive and increasing edge there. The same kind of aerial advance notice as that being given in France indicates amphibious moves against various atolls in the Marshalls. If reports from the Pacific are correct, a change in tactics in these forthcoming operations may save us from such losses as those suffered at Tarawa. On New Guinea and New Britain we are gaining steadily and at small loss, though also slowly. The attention being given to Kavieng serves notice that New Ireland, too, stands high on the Allied priority list.

Unfortunately, the United Nations have had one very discreditable failure which could be but has not yet been rectified. Twenty months ago Burma fell into Japanese hands after a campaign which on the British side represented Colonel Blimp at his worst and revealed more concentrated political and military stupidity than any similar operation of which this writer has knowledge. Today an Indian army fifteen times as large as the Japanese occupation forces is available a few hundred miles to the west. The Chinese have indicated a willingness to operate from the north in case the morale of the Indian army is too low to risk a Burmese campaign—if the British will now permit them to operate in Burma. The steady attrition suffered by Japanese sea power and the disappearance of the Italian navy have made available to the Allies sufficient naval strength to more than match anything the Japanese are likely to be able to send into the Indian Ocean. We already have superiority in the air. China has been promised increased aid and reopened communication lines, and the United States has done a signally good job of supply. The failure under these circumstances to mount an offensive to reopen the Burma road and drive the Japanese out of Southeastern Asia is a disgrace to the entire United Nations as well as to the leader most directly responsible.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TEMPERS ARE RISING AGAIN in the Far East. Undisguised preparations for war go on apace. . . . Hirota's overture to the United States suggests that the Japanese believe there is more to American recognition of Russia than appears to the naked eye and that they have at last been thoroughly frightened by our gigantic naval-building program. That this program has been laid down as an answer to Japan's military preparations and with an eye directly on the menacing situation in the Far East can no longer be denied.—*February 7, 1934.*

IT IS A PLEASURE to report . . . that literally thousands of letters are pouring into Washington from persons stating they have canceled their subscriptions to the Chicago *Tribune* because of its scurrilous attacks on the NRA. This was the sheet which introduced the delectable practice of employing known criminals and racketeers. By every standard of professional decency and public morals Colonel McCormick has earned the right to retire from the publishing business. I hope the people of Chicago will help him to exercise it.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *February 7, 1934.*

MUSSOLINI NOW SUGGESTS giving Hitler an army of 300,000 if he will return to the League, while Great Britain advances one of Sir John Simon's famous formulas, by which France is offered more security and Germany is offered more military strength if only they will come back to Geneva and save the [disarmament] conference!—*February 14, 1934.*

AS WE WRITE THESE LINES Austria's workers are fighting a life-and-death battle with fascism, which, in the guise of the Dollfuss Heimwehr, is threatening to choke—and will choke—their labor movement.—*February 21, 1934.*

THE LATEST INCIDENT in the Rivera-Rockefeller controversy occurred when the panel containing the head of Lenin was "removed" in a cloud of plaster dust from the wall in Rockefeller Center in New York City, where it had stood under a concealing screen since last spring. In other words, the Rockefellers, well known as patrons of art, have destroyed, for commercial reasons, an important work by the world's most famous mural painter.—*February 28, 1934.*

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Co-op International

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN THE winter of 1843-44 a small group of poor weavers meeting in the back street of the grimy industrial town of Rochdale, England, created together a social invention—the idea of consumers' cooperation. Like most inventions it was not completely original; other men in other places had worked it out in part. Nor was this discovery exactly what its authors were seeking, for their goal was an even larger conception—a method by which the tyranny of capitalism with its low wages and high prices could be circumvented. They looked for a way of acquiring the means of production so that they might employ themselves; the formation of a trading society through which they could buy collectively was to be only a first step in this direction.

Yet if they knew not what they wrought, their craftsmen's instincts were sound, for in drawing up the articles of their association they established a set of principles which have formed a firm foundation for the world-wide movement of consumer cooperation. They were: (1) membership open to all; (2) one person, one vote; (3) limited interest on capital; (4) distribution of savings according to patronage; (5) cash trading at market prices; (6) political and religious neutrality; (7) constant education; (8) continuous expansion. These are the Rochdale principles, masterly in their simplicity, which today, a century after they were invented, guide and inspire the humblest "co-op" as well as such powerful institutions as the English Cooperative Wholesale Society with its billion-dollar turnover.

Before the war consumers' cooperatives were to be found in almost all countries, and in many they played a major and expanding role in the national economy. In Great Britain they cover half the families and account for more than a quarter of the total food sales. In Sweden, with over 40 per cent of the population enjoying cooperative membership, the manufacturing activities of the wholesale society have done much to offset the restrictive tendencies of local trusts. The fact that with all the shortages the war has brought to Sweden there is no significant black market is often ascribed to the influence of the cooperatives.

Cooperatives have expanded on the federal principle. Local societies have joined in regional groups to carry on common enterprises, and regional groups have come together to form national associations for business and other common purposes. The movement, moreover, has long looked beyond national boundaries. Nearly fifty years ago the International Cooperative Alliance was founded for the purpose of exchanging and spreading information. Before the war it represented 171,300 societies with 71,588,000 members in 35 countries. In 1919 an International Cooperative Wholesale Society was set up with the object of promoting trade relations among its members. It did not do any business on its own account, but in 1938 an international trading agency was inaugurated to act as intermediary in overseas cooperative trade. There were also a number of other federal organizations transcending national boundaries, such as the joint wholesale society maintained by the cooperatives of the four Scandinavian countries.

In spite of such developments the amount of direct trade between cooperatives in different countries was comparatively limited before the war. But the seeds of growth had been sown, and when the freezing grip of conflict is relaxed there is hope for a bountiful crop. The second century of consumers' cooperation may well be dedicated to its international integration.

It was in this faith that the Cooperative League of the United States summoned a Conference on International Cooperative Reconstruction to meet in Washington on January 19 and 20. Representatives of twenty-two different countries discussed a series of recommendations which fell under two broad heads: (1) proposals for immediate post-war relief and rehabilitation through the medium of cooperative agencies; (2) a program for the long-term expansion of cooperative institutions throughout the world by the development of joint trading and productive enterprises.

In all European countries where immediate relief measures to save the inhabitants from starvation and disease will have to be undertaken as soon as the Germans are driven out, the existence of a network of cooperative organizations provides a ready-made system of distribution. Like other democratic bodies, the cooperatives have of course suffered under the occupation, for they represent everything to which the Nazis are opposed. In Germany itself they were long ago incorporated in the Labor Front, and every vestige of self-government was taken from them. In parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia the Nazis have proceeded on somewhat similar lines, but in other occupied countries there has been less interference. Like all businesses the cooperatives have been subjected to much harassing and regulation; in some cases Quisling managers have been forced upon them. But there is reason to hope that m

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of them have held together. As Margaret Digby, an English cooperator, has written, "A system which depends so much more on personal than on financial elements is likely to have a quite special survival value."

In a newly published study* by the International Labor Office, maps of Holland and Denmark show each cooperative distribution point marked by a dot. The effect is that of a superlative case of freckles. Every inhabitant of these countries is within easy reach of a store, a credit society, or a farm-marketing warehouse which purchases for its members as well as taking care of their sales. The network is not so closely woven in all European countries, but according to the I. L. O., something like a quarter of the population of the Continent is included in one form or another of cooperative institution. And as their membership is mainly in the low income brackets, the cooperatives actually cover a much greater proportion of the people who will be in the most urgent need of relief.

Apart from the density of their coverage, the special characteristics of cooperative organizations make them very appropriate vehicles for the distribution of relief and the promotion of rehabilitation. Among their useful features in this respect the I. L. O. lists the following: (1) Cooperative personnel combine business training with a social-service outlook. (2) There is an identity of interest between the cooperatives and the people they serve; supplies allotted to them are less likely to be diverted to the black market than those distributed through profit-making concerns. (3) The democratic structure of cooperatives and their practice of giving full publicity to their accounts facilitates inspection and control. (4) While some European cooperatives are tied in with religious or political bodies, in general they are open to all without regard to income, profession, or belief. In view of these considerations, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) would do well to give effect to the recommendation of the Washington Cooperative Conference that it create a cooperative division to keep in close touch with and work through the movement at home and abroad.

If, as spokesmen for the UNRRA have emphasized, the first objective of relief is to help people to help themselves, the cooperative movement forms an ideal medium. For, to quote the I. L. O. report, it "is not a passive mechanism but an active self-help and mutual-aid organization." The whole cooperative tradition is opposed to charity. Men and women in its ranks will accept relief to keep their families from starving, but they will look upon it merely as a method of keeping alive while they restore their devastated fields and rebuild their workshops. That is why the Cooperative League of America has suggested to the UNRRA the setting up of a central fund which will make loans to cooperatives in countries afflicted by the war, enabling them to rebuild facilities and inventories so that in turn they may assist their members to restore production as rapidly as possible. On the basis of past experience one can prophesy that few such loans will be defaulted. The International Cooperative Alliance has itself started a "Freedom Fund" of at least two million dollars, which will be raised by popular subscription in countries such as Britain and Sweden and will be used to provide gifts and loans to cooperatives in liberated lands. The American movement is undertaking to match this effort.

Wherever the Nazis have marched they have not only wrought wholesale damage to property but have largely destroyed property ownership as an institution. By looting, by confiscation, by forced sales paid for with forced credits, they have obtained possession of much of the concrete wealth of the occupied lands for themselves or their Quislings. So thoroughly have they made an omelet of property rights that there is little hope of restoring the original eggs. Moreover, in many cases, the lawful owners and their families have been completely wiped out.

It is certain, therefore, that a great deal of "orphaned" property will have to be taken care of after the Nazis have been stripped of their plunder. Much of it is likely to be socialized, but the suggestion has been made, in the magazine *Fortune* and elsewhere, that a wise alternative might be to turn production plants into cooperatives. In the case of factories producing for more than a local market the regional or national wholesale societies which exist in most countries would be the logical medium, and under cooperative management such enterprises could not only play a leading role in economic reconstruction but furnish a permanent check on monopolistic tendencies. Indeed, this proposal might suggest to Jesse Jones a good way of disposing of government war plants in this country.

The natural tendency of consumer cooperatives is to band together to secure the advantages of bulk buying and eventually to manufacture at least a part of their basic requirements. For in this way they are able to make greater savings for their members, secure control over quality, and maintain a yardstick by which to measure the prices charged by private enterprise. In the United States the rapid growth of cooperatives during the past ten years has been accompanied by a number of successful ventures in the field of production. The regional wholesale societies, sometimes singly, sometimes in alliance, are now producing an important range of goods—fertilizers, cattle feeds, foodstuffs, paint, farm machinery, lumber products.

Most significant of all these developments is the large cooperative investment in petroleum refining, the story

*operative Organization and Post-War Relief." International e, Montreal. $1.

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of which was told to the international conference in Washington last week by Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City. Within the last six years nine refineries, nearly 300 producing oil wells, and more than 1,000 miles of pipe-line have been acquired to supply cooperative distributors of gasoline and oil. Taken together—and they are closely interlinked—the cooperative petroleum enterprises can now claim to be the largest independent refiners and distributors in the country. In 1942, it is estimated by the Farm Credit Administration, 22 per cent of the total volume of motor fuels consumed by farmers was delivered by cooperatives, and their urban business is also expanding rapidly.

This development is a real challenge to the oil trusts on their native soil, and Mr. Cowden is planning to extend it to the foreign market. Before the war his organization had done business in a small way with cooperatives in nine European countries. These customers obtained their oil on the same terms as domestic member-societies of the association, receiving patronage dividends on their purchases. Now Mr. Cowden and his colleagues in the Cooperative League are proposing that immediately after the war an International Cooperative Trading and Manufacturing Association should be formed and financed by the various national wholesale societies. This body, to begin with, would have two divisions, food and petroleum. The former, it is suggested, should operate at first on an agency basis, but the object of the latter would be to provide a fully integrated cooperative business from oil well to tank car. The idea is, of course, only in the discussion stage, but the delegates at Washington were definitely receptive.

The heart of the American cooperative movement has always been the Middle West, and for a long time it was only regionally conscious. In recent years, however, it has acquired a national outlook and begun to tackle its problems in national terms. Now it is extending its vision to still wider horizons. To quote Mr. Cowden again:

> We live in a world community. Therefore we may as well begin to act like adult citizens of the world and build our economic organizations on a global basis. The common citizens of all countries cannot communicate with each other through the international cartels which have been built by the few for purposes of exploiting the many. They can communicate with one another, they can learn to trust and believe in one another, through their own cooperative system of industry and exchange.

It is a hundred years since the Rochdale pioneers wove their cooperative idea. But the colors have not faded, the design still carries its message, and what was once a tiny square of cloth has become a mantle to cover the earth.

End of an Era

BY GERTRUDE BAER

THE death on December 20, 1943, of Anita Augspurg marks for our generation the close of a whole epoch—that epoch of liberation, of emancipation from legal, social, political, and intellectual disabilities, of intense fight for equality of sex, creed, class, and race.

When Anita Augspurg studied law in Berlin and took her doctor's degree in Zurich in 1897, she was fitting herself for just that fight. She wanted to acquire the scholarly background necessary for taking part in formulating the amendments to the Family Law proposed by the German women's movement when, in the nineties, the new Code of Civil Law was under discussion in the Reichstag. And, indeed, she had a prominent part in the struggle for the incorporation of women's demands into the law.

Though ever since 1886 she had been active in Munich in the agitation for women's rights, she now came to realize that the prerequisite for a radical transformation of the general position of women was their full right to vote. Together with Lida Gustava Heymann she concentrated on this one goal, building up the German Union for Women's Suffrage, of which she was president. In contrast to the women's-suffrage movement of that time, which advocated votes for women on the same limited terms as for men, she boldly stood for demands that were "radical" in the Germany of that day—equal, secret, and direct votes for all men and women.

Suffrage certainly did not "fall into the lap of German women," as has frequently been asserted. The struggle was violent; and violent were the attacks and calumnies against the movement and its leaders. When finally in November, 1918, as the first act of the new Republic of Bavaria, women were enfranchised on the terms Anita Augspurg had demanded for men and women alike, the flag with the black, red, and gold colors of the German Democratic movement of 1848 was flying on the flagstaff of her estate in the hills high above the Isar Valley in Upper Bavaria.

When she was asked to stand as a candidate for the first parliament of the Bavarian Republic on the voting list headed by Prime Minister Kurt Eisner, leader of the Independent Socialist Party, she accepted on condition that she need not join the party. The German party system, with its tendency to demagogic tactics, seemed to her the root of many political evils.

Democracy was her fundamental creed. In innumerable speeches and articles, in the political monthly *Die Frau im Staat*, which she and Lida Gustava Heymann owned together and edited from 1918 until they had to leave the country in 1933, she called on Germans to educate themselves for the exercise of political power

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"The rights and liberties firmly established by the 1919 constitution are also fundamental duties, and with the people's consciousness of their rights must go a sense of obligation."

Born a citizen of the independent kingdom of Hanover on September 22, 1857, she watched Prussia's rise to power and supremacy as it reduced one independent German state after another to a Prussian province. All her life she warned that here was one of the mainsprings of ever-recurring wars in Europe, and advocated the breaking of Prussia's hegemony and its military and Junker castes, hoping that a federal Germany within the frame of a free and united Europe would give the German people the chance to develop a realization of decent political conduct, democracy, and a sincere will to peace.

When in 1915 women from neutral and warring countries, under the presidency of Jane Addams, succeeded in meeting at The Hague for the first international women's peace congress ever held in war time, Anita Augspurg was among those who went—assailed by the whole German women's movement. She became one of the founders, and to the end remained a leader, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (at that time named International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace) and of its German section. At critical moments during periods of civil war and indeed throughout the years between 1918 and 1933, she displayed her many rare qualities—her political philosophy, her gift for precise and forcible expression, and her boundless devotion to the task of educating German women to a consciousness of their political opportunities and their political dignity.

When after the last war the full extent of the destruction wrought by the German troops in the devastated areas became known in Germany, Anita Augspurg and her coworkers gave as voluntary reparation to the city of Arras in northern France young growing trees to replace the bare maimed tree trunks of that region. The funds for this offering were contributed by women and men of small means who had sold what possessions war and inflation had left them.

Anita Augspurg was a unique personality. Strong of will, she was never afraid of walking untried paths in science and politics as well as in her personal life. She was far ahead of her time, always ready to profess and maintain her views, principles, and beliefs. She was unshakably convinced that *free* women have a contribution of their own to make to human society, that they ought not to imitate men's actions and reactions but to allow their "creative agent" to unfold and operate for the benefit of themselves and of the world. To her, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities were not a distant goal but tools for daily use, now, in the ation and development of a human society, national and international, based on justice for all its elements and on peace, the twin concept of freedom.

Only when our generation takes up for the second time the work of reconstruction will it fully realize how much it owes to the last two outstanding German women of the pre-Hitler epoch—Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann.

In the Wind

THE CHICAGO *TRIBUNE* is no longer able to boast, as it did for years, that its circulation is over a million. Last November the circulation was 930,000; in December it dropped to 905,000, following a C. I. O. vote to boycott the paper.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY has discontinued the sale of pamphlets on national and world affairs. Leo A. Lerner, a member of the board of trustees, whose term had expired in 1942 but who had been held over, voted to continue the sales. A few days later he was dropped from the board. Discontinuance was proposed by the chairman of the board, Joseph E. Fleming, attorney for the Chicago *Tribune*. Mayor Kelly, who dropped Lerner and appointed his successor, was asked by reporters if Lerner had been "fired." He replied, "I don't know. I don't know anything about it."

NEW YORKERS WHO LISTEN to the city's local radio stations have lately been hearing an advertisement by Spear's, a chain of furniture stores, offering to send a special service men's edition of the New York *Daily Mirror* free of charge to men in the armed forces. For those who may be worried about the effect of Hearst journalism on the men overseas, this report: The special edition is published once a week. It consists of twelve pages, nine by six and one-half inches, and contains news, pictures, and features, selected and edited by the *Mirror* staff. Spear's advertising manager says controversial matter is omitted. However, at least one editorial that has appeared thus far seems to overstep the limits of the non-controversial. It denounces the Washington "Communists, State Socialists, and Internationalists who would sell our birthright as an independent sovereignty for a mess of wars that do not concern us." A spokesman for the *Mirror* said the editorial reflected Hearst policy and was "not controversial."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The secretaries and typists of German administrative offices in Belgium have been armed with revolvers. They hold shooting practice twice a day. . . . Freshman registration at Dutch universities now is about 10 per cent of the pre-war average. A sharp drop took place last year when an oath of obedience to the Nazi regime was required.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Franco, New Axis Chief

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

[*In designating Madrid as the real center of the new Nazi-fascist Axis, Miss Thompson touches upon one of the major problems of political warfare. Franco in power means the continuation of Nazi intrigue throughout the Western Hemisphere. The German and Japanese embassies in Buenos Aires will be closed, but the Spanish embassy will remain open. As in Santiago, in Lima, in Montevideo, Franco's diplomatic services will continue to work for Hitler and prepare the ground for the new Fascist International after Hitler has been overthrown. Franco in power means the continuation of the espionage, sabotage, and anti-United Nations propaganda in Europe which have been a principal subject of discussion in the British and American press during the past week, and which motivated Foreign Secretary Eden's recent protest. This journal has been protesting for a long time, but it has taken four bloody years for a high British official to realize the hypocrisy of the Franco regime, and to say, as the New York* Herald Tribune *reported, "We all know what degree of sincerity to read into Franco's protestations of friendship and neutrality. They are 100 per cent insincere."*

In presenting the analysis that follows we are doing something almost unprecedented; we are publishing a broadcast that was delivered over a national radio hook-up—the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. But the vigor and penetration of Miss Thompson's address, and its timeliness, lead us to believe that our readers will be glad to have in print an analysis they may have missed on the air.—A. DEL V.]

DURING the past weeks I have been observing something I think very important. You may not be convinced by what I am going to say, but I shall produce concrete evidence. Fascism is not just an Italian or a German idea. The chief German Nazis—Hitler, Rosenberg, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Hess—are not ordinary German nationalists at all. (Conrad Heiden, in his book "Der Führer," calls them "armed bohemians.") Of these six men I have just named, only two—Göring and Goebbels—were even born in Germany. All of them have always looked far beyond Germany. They organized, in National Socialism, a movement which was designed to sweep the world. They built up this conspiracy methodically in all countries. Their idea was to create a new kind of state, and world union of states, based on the overthrow of popular governments and the substitution of military despotisms by means of organized mass movements—all these states to be pawns in the hands of the intellectual and political leaders of the Nazi-fascist parties.

The key point of the whole plot was Berlin, the strongest capital of the strongest state in Europe.

They know now that the Nazi-fascist war may be lost. They have to take that into their reckoning. Of course they will prolong it as long as they can. They know that there can be many a slip in war. Allies, for instance, can split; governments can change, bringing new policies. They will try, and probably succeed, in turning the path to Berlin into a path of blood. But they have to take into their calculations that in all probability, sooner or later, they will lose the war. So then what will they do?

What they are already laying plans for is to create a *new* Axis. They are planning to find new ground from which to continue their fight against free governments and peoples, against the passion of the peoples to cast off their chains of militarism and oppression and—as Lincoln said—find freedom in the brotherhood of life.

The Nazi international foresees that Europe may be almost wholly lost to it. Whether the Russians descend on Germany with grim, relentless fury, or whether the Anglo-American troops march triumphant from Calais to Berlin, fascism will be finished in belligerent Europe with our winning of the war. It will be finished in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Poland. And it will be finished in Berlin and Rome.

Where then will it go? I will tell you. It is going to make this hop: Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires. The center of the new Nazi-fascist Axis will not be Berlin. It will be Madrid. Hitler's experience shows that you don't need a great power to start with. He didn't even start with Germany, but with one town—Munich. The rest he did by propaganda and tactics. And the rallying ground for a new attempt to overthrow political freedom and the countries based on it will not be in the Old World but in the New World—in Latin America. The signs and portents reveal themselves daily. And the old familiar pattern repeats itself, too—the pattern of appeasement.

The most dangerous man in the world the day after victory will not be Hitler, who will have managed to ally the whole world against him and lead his country

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catastrophe. No, the most dangerous fascist will be Franco, who is managing to help the Axis while winning gratitude from us for his so-called neutrality.

What does that neutrality amount to? Is it a neutrality comparable, for instance, to that of Sweden and Switzerland? Is it the neutrality of a man who wants us to win, because his country is, like Switzerland and Sweden, freedom-loving and democratic? Not at all. Franco's neutrality is the neutrality of a man who would like to see the Axis win and has repeatedly said so, but who thinks it may not, and intends to preserve one place in Europe where fascism can take a new lease on life after this war. Franco is betting on Germany and Italy being defeated but on fascism surviving.

For the past weeks dispatches from Madrid to the United States have appeared under such headlines as "Franco Currying Favor with Allies," "Spain Frees Republicans for Christmas Amnesty," "Franco Seeks to Allay Hatreds—His New Liberalism Intended to Remove Threats of Revolts," "Spain Paying Debt to U. S. Exporters"—all these creating the impression that Spain is swinging over to our side in the war and even to domestic liberalism. Several news reports from Spain say that Franco is gradually dissolving the Phalangist Party—the Spanish fascist party.

But if one reads these dispatches carefully they furnish no evidence whatever that any of this wishful thinking is true. Has Franco freed political prisoners, in a movement toward "greater liberalism"? According to the Falangist newspaper, there were in January, 1940, 270,719 republican political prisoners. The Christmas amnesty freed 40,000 of these. That left more than 230,000. Dispatches say that 34,000 cases are under review. That would still leave over 200,000 unaccounted for. And a little item explains this. "The majority of Spanish prisoners," it says, "were arrested without any charges whatsoever, and the amnesty does not apply to them." So our liberal Franco is apparently holding around 200,000 persons without warrant, without indictment, without any reason ever given to them or to the world. These men who were imprisoned for their resistance to fascism are infinitely worse off than Nazi prisoners of war in British or American internment camps, whose treatment is under international conventions and checked by the Red Cross.

Is Franco gradually dissolving the Phalangist Party, as reported by Herbert Clark, correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune,* on January 8? The only evidence Mr. Clark gives for this is that Franco is taking some non-Phalangists into his government. Hitler has had men who were not Nazi Party members in his government from the beginning to the present time. The Phalangist Party is the only legal party in Spain. It is supported right out of the state treasury. And this year's budget *increased* the appropriation for the Phalangist Party. A fine way to dissolve a party—to subsidize it out of the taxes of the people!

How about the Spanish Legion, fighting with the Germans on the eastern front? Franco has had to admit that 1,500 of them are still fighting. And what do you think he told British and American diplomats when asked to explain? He said they were mostly criminal elements, whose return to Spain would be bad for the country!

There are some other things happening which tell the truer story. The International Labor Office knows that Franco still has a treaty with the Germans, entitled "Concerning the Allocation of Spanish Man-Power." Under that treaty Franco has furnished labor to German factories. These workers aren't volunteers. They are conscripted by their own government and sent to Germany to make bombs with which to kill us. No such treaty exists between Germany and any other neutral country.

On January 16 news broke of a series of bomb explosions on British ships carrying oranges from Spain to England. This made the British hopping mad, and the British ambassador to Madrid took occasion, at a dinner given to the diplomatic corps, to take Franco aside and protest in no uncertain terms. What was the result? Franco got the American ambassador, Carlton Hayes—who has leaned over backward to behave correctly toward Franco—into a conversation and told him that Algiers was a hotbed of communism, and all the Free French were Communists. Hayes was so angry that it almost came to an international incident—but it's proof enough that Franco feels little necessity to appease us.

It is as clear as distilled water that Franco is playing the Axis game as a neutral while making himself the pet boy of the Allies. He apparently hopes to emerge from the war as the only "decent" fascist in the public opinion of a large part of the Allied countries. And what does that mean to us, the United States?

It means the most dangerous situation imaginable. For of all European countries, the one with the greatest influence in Latin America is Spain. Latin America is predominantly Spanish in culture. Already one fascist coup has been engineered in the Western Hemisphere, namely, in Argentina, where a fascist-military dictatorship on the Franco pattern has seized power. The Ramirez dictatorship is pro-Axis. The recent severance of diplomatic relations with the Axis is no more in conflict with this fact than is Franco's "neutrality." The best position for a fascist regime today is that of "neutrality" toward or collaboration with the winners—especially if they are able to strangle the country's economy.

The Argentine dictatorship speculates that after the war fear of the "colossus of the north" can be created in country after country south of the Rio Grande. The argument that Latin America is threatened by northern domination will be used to prove the necessity for "strong" governments, namely, military and totalitarian

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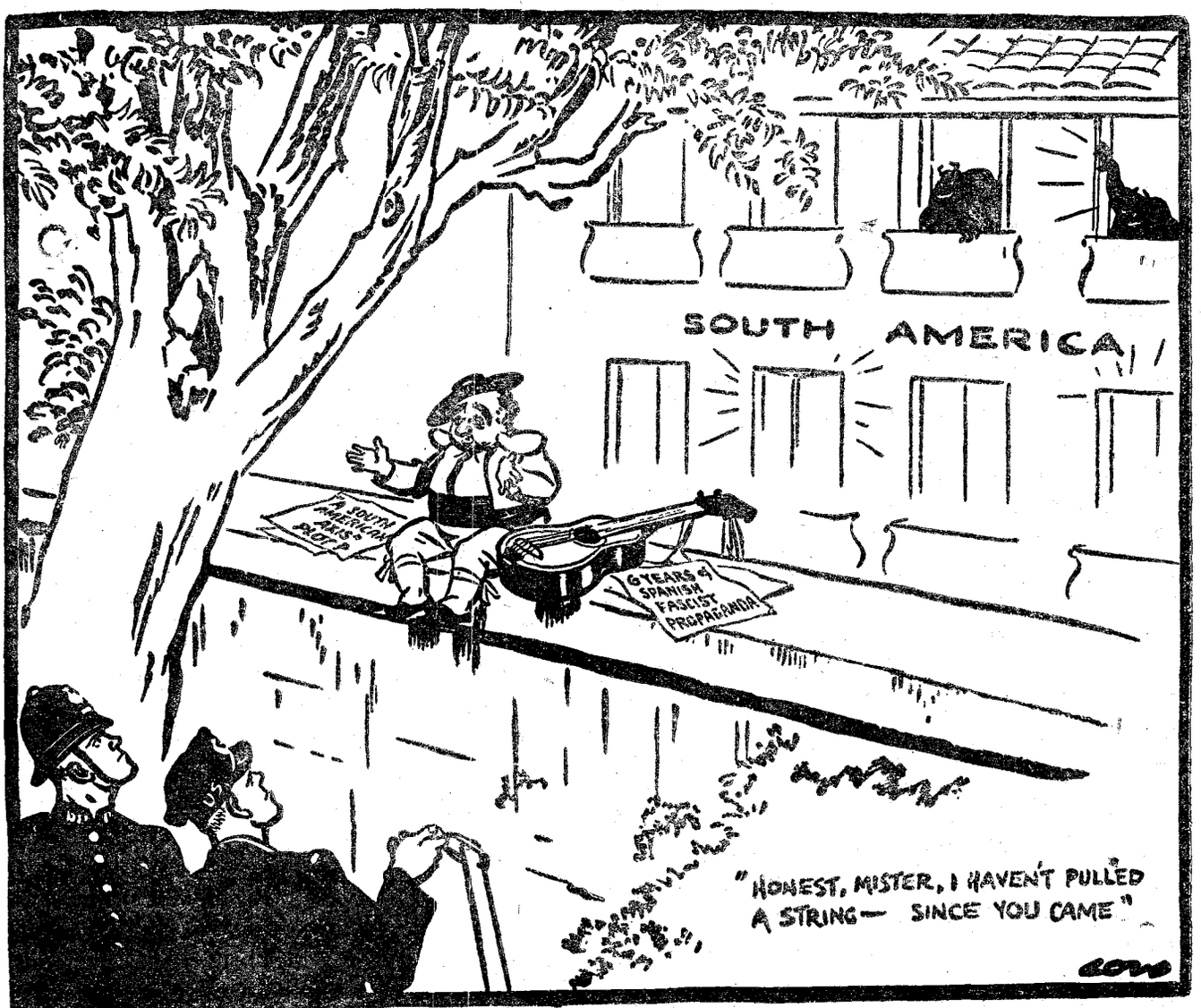
dictatorships. And this Argentine pattern is already spreading—to Bolivia, for instance.

Just the other day I heard from a most reliable source that the Nazi regime is preparing, when defeat is no longer avoidable, to shift machinery from German industries to neutral Spain, where it is to be stored until it can be shipped after the war to the Argentine. Their idea is to industrialize and arm the Argentine, spreading from there through all Latin America. They already—as the papers revealed last week—have a formidable spy ring operating from there. In it are even Argentine officials. When the British arrested the Argentine consul in Trinidad, exposing a whole plot, the Argentine government was forced to act. It had to pretend it had only just discovered the machinations of the Axis in its country, whereas in fact the plotting had been thoroughly exposed by an investigating committee of the Argentine Congress. A Montevideo newspaper published a letter the other day from the secretary of the "political bureau of the German embassy" in Buenos Aires promising the iron cross from the Führer to those who work well in Latin America and "help all revolutionary anti-Allied and anti-Semitic elements in Latin America." Whether or not Ramirez severs relations with the Axis, we can count on continued underground activity.

American correspondents who stayed in Berlin until Pearl Harbor claim that Nazis have bought vast estates in the Argentine under assumed names. And one fine day when we think they are licked, we may find that they are among the richest people in South America. Instead of having this dirty conspiracy across the ocean, we'll have it on our very doorstep.

What can we do about all this? There is only one thing we can do. Diplomatic notes and formal protests may change tactics but not essential sympathies. What we can do is to help our real allies, who are the people of these countries. There are strong popular underground movements in both Spain and Argentina—movements which, not for our sakes but for their own, long to overthrow these military despotisms. We should help these movements, help them by all possible means. Hitler saw long ago that the way to get on without war is to overthrow hostile governments from within. And that much we should have learned from him.



SPANISH SERENADER

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SOMETHING in the nature of espionage or communication with the enemy must have been discovered in Germany which greatly excited the government. The appearance of the "shadow man" was the first sign. About January 10 all German billboards suddenly displayed an enormous poster over which spread the black shadow of a man with a question mark beside it. On the front pages of newspapers, too, the same figure was pictured. The explanation came only after some days, when suspense had reached a high pitch. Then to the figure on the posters and in the newspapers was added the legend: "The enemy is listening!" The whole thing was a warning against spies. For a campaign of such intensity to be launched with the most sensational publicity in the fifth year of war was certainly astonishing.

The conjecture that something especially alarming had happened is supported by a decree that was published at about the same time, on January 12. The decree was signed—and this was most unusual—not by a civilian official but by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, chief of the German High Command. It announced that any person who wished to send a letter to a neutral country must first obtain a license card. In applying for one he must inform the police whom he wished to write to and describe his relations with that person. The police, after examining his statements, would issue or deny him the license. If he received the license card he must take it with his letter to the post office, where the clerk would enter on the card the date on which the letter was sent. No one would be allowed to send more than two letters a month to a neutral country.

Through this ruling, the Nazi regime choked off communication between Germany and the outside world more tightly than it had ever dared to do before. Previously only the contents of letters had been examined by the censor; from now on the writers also were to be investigated. And whereas only suspicious correspondence used to be held up, now hundreds of thousands of persons were to be barred from any correspondence with foreign countries. The government must have had good reasons for such a sudden act of strangulation in the fifth year of war.

Le Petit Dauphinois, a newspaper published at Grenoble in southern France, carried this notice on December 24:

> Young men, a wonderful life of courage and sacrifice is offered to you. Come and serve in that élite body, the French Waffen-S. S. You can choose the infantry, the tank corps, the cavalry, or the navy. For girls, a French nurses', or *Schwestern*, corps, has been organized. For further information inquire at the Hotel Moderne, rue Félix Poulat, Grenoble.

Here we have one more proof of what two years ago would have been unthinkable—that the German armed forces are seeking foreign recruits. Just as German factories have long been bringing in workers from the conquered regions, so now German regiments are getting soldiers from outside the country. The S. S. seems especially eager for them—the same S. S. which once demanded that its members meet the highest standards of "racial purity" and political dependability. Countless news items, which it is not necessary or possible to specify here, when put together present the following picture.

The S. S. recruits in all countries; it recruits among the foreign workers in Germany; it recruits even among the war prisoners. It seeks volunteers—but not necessarily genuine volunteers: foreign workers and war prisoners have been forced to "volunteer" by the grossest pressure and threats. The S. S. has no national predilections. It welcomes not only Nordic-Germanic recruits like the Norwegians and Hollanders, not only West Europeans like the French and Belgians, but also the despised Poles; even Russians are not scorned. The foreign recruits may be divided according to nationality—in French, Belgian, Slovenian companies—or placed in mixed companies. All their officers, right down to the lowest non-com, are of course German.

Obviously the theory of this is that for a man in uniform, under the compulsion of discipline, there is no possible course but to obey orders and do his duty—like the Hessians in America. And this principle is thought to work most reliably in a body like the S. S., which is made up of police troops more than of combat troops. It is only necessary to take care that no nationals are used in their own country, against men speaking the same language. Some weeks ago, in the little Danish town of Skagen, feverish excitement broke out for a brief time. "The Russians have moved in," ran the rumor; witnesses confirmed it—"we have heard them speak." The strange soldiers actually were an S. S. company made up of Russians, Poles, and Latvians. Ironically enough, the foreign S. S. units can be used with the least danger in Germany itself—they have no bonds with Germans. After two of the most recent air raids against Berlin, Swiss and Swedish newspaper correspondents were surprised to find that the S. S. men who were barring certain streets to traffic did not understand German. They spoke Flemish and Danish.

According to the Budapest newspaper *Uj Magyarsag*, "men wearing Austrian hats with feathers are appearing in extraordinary numbers on the streets of Vienna." Say it with hats!

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Demobilization Day

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM? PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR FINANCE. By Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.

THIS is the third in a series of six popular books on the economic problems of "when the war ends." In his breezy yet thoughtful style Chase attacks the fears of those who believe the nation will be so impoverished by the war that we shall be doomed to dark days after it. He explores the institutional changes necessary to establish and maintain reasonably full post-war domestic employment. And he supports the need for such action passionately and dramatically. "Our economy is now geared to a national output . . . of around $150 billions a year. We are like a Flying Fortress which must maintain a given speed or crash."

The fifteen chapters explore a wide range of related topics, including reconversion problems and policies, social security, public works, and so on. The fundamental argument, though, is found in four chapters. Chapter I poses the basic conundrum of this generation: how could nations which were too poor and feeble to keep their people employed and properly fed and clothed in time of peace find the wherewithal to put everyone at work and enormously increase their output to wage war?

Chapter IV explains the function of money in terms of the ingenious "potato model" developed by Ralph Manuel, Minnesota banker. He likens dollars to claim checks for potatoes in a community that produces nothing else, and shows how if some of the claims are not exercised, potatoes spoil and production falls. (Chapters V to VIII broaden out and generalize this simple illustration, from the facts of the '20's and '30's, to explain our more complicated economy, where money is simply "numbers which move" and where "if savings are not promptly invested in productive work, trouble begins.")

Chapter XII, on "a compensatory economy," is the best in the book. It summarizes in broad strokes, and some careful detail, Chase's conception of the changes we need to make in our economy to maintain reasonably full employment. These are further described in Chapter XIII, which also takes up the possible use of new economic techniques, such as incentive taxes and interest-free money for government investment—methods whose effectiveness "we cannot know in advance. There is no wind tunnel for testing idle-money tax machines. We have to fly them first to see what happens."

The final chapter outlines and answers the "seven great fears . . . the brakes that may hold back full employment when the war ends." These are the fears of inflation, of a crushing national debt, bureaucracy, paternalism, of an end to progress, of "what you gain, I lose," and fear of the masses. Its closing paragraph will summarize the book. "Where does the money come from? It comes from the work of the people and the work of their machines. The war is forcing this lesson upon us. We may have learned it by Demobilization Day."

Chase's "compensatory economy" is based on four principles: (1) business to carry the maximum possible load of production and distribution; (2) government to fill any serious gaps left in employment, largely through taxation and spending; (3) the federal government to establish minimum economic standards for individuals through social security and public services; and (4) government benefits to be extended to individuals solely as consumers (housing aids, food-stamp plans, pensions) and not at all as producers (farmers, manufacturers, etc.). The volume of public expenditures would be turned off and on semi-automatically, as indicated by current objective counts of the number of unemployed. (Contrary to Chase's statement, these are already regularly available from monthly surveys of the Census Bureau.) Taxes would be "streamlined" and made to bear more on idle money.

The book makes a convincing reply to those who worry about the size of the national debt, and provides a reasoned basis and program for optimism for the future. It has, however, two weaknesses. First, its discussion of demobilization and reconversion problems is too broad and too far from the facts. Although at one point Chase recognizes that Germany may collapse ahead of Japan, all the rest of his discussion is in terms of "D-day," of an overnight end of all war activity on the 1918 model. The actual prospect is that we may face fully half of our post-war industrial conversion problem while we are still fighting Japan. This probability of adjustment to peace by successive stages, instead of at one single sweep, would profoundly modify much of his description of the problem. Furthermore, Chase speaks of the industrial-demobilization problem as almost exclusively one of converting our factories from war goods to peace goods. Actually, war over-expands chemicals and hard goods, and builds much plant which has practically no alternative peace-time use. (This is notably true of ammunition plants, air-frame plants, and shipyards.) To keep our present labor force employed in peace-time production, we must build new and different plants—"soft-goods" plants for more shoes, clothes, amusement—yes, and schools, colleges, hospitals, and clinics. Meantime, we must scrap some of our excess metal-working plants—or put them aside as "stand-by capacity"—and retrain our surplus welders, riveters, and tool operatives into textile operatives, dressmakers, beauticians, teachers, and doctors. Chase ignores the profound organic change that lies ahead in the make-up of our production and employment—if we are, as he proposes, to keep busy everyone who wishes to work at useful peace-time tasks.

A second shortcoming is in the presentation of possibilities for the future. Chase's outline of a compensatory economy is a brilliant and constructive statement, and one which summarizes what is probably the central core of present-day progressive economic thought. He states that there is no other forward-looking theoretical alternative to a completely

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socialized economy. This statement ignores the possibility of broader government participation in the planning of private production, while leaving ownership in private hands. Such a possibility is not a purely theoretical idea, for we have already experimented with various aspects of it in the public planning of agricultural programs under the AAA and the soil-conservation program, while the war-time planning of military and civilian output by the WPB has developed facts and methods in the industrial-planning field. Such cooperative planning by business and government might aid in evening out chronic industrial cycles, like the housing cycle, the shipping cycle, and even the automobile cycle, just as it has helped farmers to even out the hog cycle. Probably what we need is some system which combines Chase's "compensatory economy" with my planned "industrial expansion." While I strongly recognize the need and value of fiscal policy as control and stimulant, I believe that over the long future there will also be some need for the cooperative business-labor-agriculture-government planning of production and price and wage policies which I presented in my writings of several years ago.

These dissents involve only extensions and modifications of Chase's basic ideas. No open-minded modern man would dissent from his major propositions. Money must be the tool of men, and not their master. Nations which in war can organize all their powers for destruction can turn equal powers to constructive use for the ends of peace. If we only choose to use them, we have within our power the means to ban forever want and chronic unemployment.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

Orphans of the Storm

THE BALTIC RIDDLE. By Gregory Meiksins. L. B. Fischer. $3.

ONE of the chief counts against the Soviets, in the indictment which some people in this country are constantly trying to present to a grand jury of the world, is the charge that it has kidnapped the three little Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. These independent states, it is alleged, were forcibly incorporated in the U. S. S. R. in 1940, and in defiance of the Atlantic Charter the Russian government insists that it will not release them after the war.

In this book Gregory Meiksins, a young Latvian lawyer who was forced into exile during the Ulmanis dictatorship, presents a brief ostensibly as a friend of the court. It is an able but hardly objective study which would perhaps have been more impressive if it had been offered frankly as the case for the defense. For there is nothing in it likely to cause the slightest offense to Moscow. It leaves the Russian government not merely whitewashed but gilded.

Mr. Meiksins asserts that after 1917 the desire of a majority of the Baltic peoples was to rid themselves of the German feudal landlords who had so long oppressed them and to achieve autonomy within the new Russia. They were thwarted, first by German occupation, and then by the Allies, who wanted to build them into an anti-Bolshevik *cordon sanitaire*. Russia, weakened by civil war and external aggression and needing access to the Baltic Sea for purposes of trade, abandoned its claims in 1920 and recognized the independence of the Baltic states. But this did not make for much-improved relations, since the Western powers, and particularly Great Britain, continued to frown on any rapprochement between these little countries and their big neighbor.

The result was that the Baltic states, whose commerce and industries had been closely linked to the Russian market, were forced to reorientate their economies and become dependent for their livelihoods on exports of agricultural products to the West. There was continuous depression, and this, combined with foreign intrigues, served to encourage the inauguration of dictatorships which, after the rise of Hitlerism, leaned more and more on Germany.

Toward the end of 1939, during the period of the Russo-German phony peace, the Soviets, with the sullen acquiescence of Berlin, occupied certain strategic points along the Baltic coast. At first there was no Russian interference in local politics, but in May, 1940, believing that the semi-fascist governments of the Baltic states were plotting with Hitler, Stalin ordered the Red Army to occupy their capitals. Thereupon, peoples' fronts in all three countries staged coups d'état, threw out the dictators, and set up democratic regimes. Within a few months completely free elections confirmed these governments and approved the incorporation of all three states in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Moscow made no attempt to impose communism on them. The Communists remained as minorities inside the democratic governments. Large enterprises and monopolies were nationalized, but small businesses were left alone and the farmers were allowed to keep their land. The national armies remained under their own officers after a very moderate purge of fascist elements. Until the German aggression a year later everything was wonderful.

That is Mr. Meiksins's case. Unfortunately, it is not so well documented as one could wish, particularly in regard to the dramatic events of 1939 and 1940. That was a period when the Baltic region was pretty well isolated from the West, and what little news came out was colored by passing through one or more censorships. It is therefore difficult to check many of the facts this book offers. But my own faith in the author's complete reliability is not strengthened by some of his references to Finland. Whatever may have been the justification for Russia's attack on Finland in 1939, it is not accurate to describe the war that followed as caused by unprovoked Finnish aggression.

Yet, despite skepticism about some of his arguments, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Meiksins's conclusions. For if this case were really brought to trial, it would not be enough for the court to bring in a verdict of guilty or not guilty. The judges would still have to consider the future of the "victims." If they are taken again from Russia, which claims to be their lawful mother, how are these orphans of the storm to live? They have no real means of supporting themselves if deprived of their natural place in the Russian economy. Are they not all too likely to be picked up by the old Prussian madam next door and forced into a life of sin? It is certainly up to the prosecution to suggest what other alternative there is.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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WHAT

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Spain According to Madariaga

SPAIN. By Salvador de Madariaga. Creative Age Press. $4.

"SPAIN" is an ivory tower falsely described by its architect as a political lighthouse. It is a cold, lifeless abstraction, from which the blood and bones of reality are missing. Señor Madariaga was neutral as between fascism and the republic during the Civil War, and this book is, on its subjective side, his defense of that attitude, written in the certain and confessed knowledge that the future of Spain lies with the republic. "Spain" aims to prove, in the course of its long, scholarly, and academic review of events and problems, that only an incredibly small group, roughly the centrist conservatives and the extreme right-wing republicans, can provide the government Spain needs.

It is a facile construction, permitting condemnation of the extreme right and left and nice discrimination in the territory between. That is merely what is permitted, however. What one gets is a total rejection of the entire working-class movement, while such an unwholesome mixture of boastful petulance and inhibited blood lust as Gil Robles, the Austro-fascist leader of the Ceda (the federation of landlord, clerical, and right-wing parties), is exonerated even of those intentions that were the whole meaning of his politics. And the explanation of this bias is: "It is from the left rather than from the right that we expect our future . . . it is the left, therefore, which stands in need of criticism."

Passing over the whole first section of this book as orthodox history, we need apply only one test to Madariaga's thesis, his treatment of the war, and his estimates of the future. It is to compare his account of the 1934-36 period with the reality that the world has witnessed.

Fundamentally here is what Madariaga professes to do. He tries to prove that it was the wildcat revolutionism of the Socialists which cast down the republic. He states categorically that "what made the Spanish Civil War inevitable was the civil war within the Socialist Party." What he means is later clarified. The insurrectionary "stampede," as he calls it, of the left Socialists under Largo Caballero was in violent opposition to both the tactical wisdom of the moderate Socialists and the will of all honest Republicans from Gil Robles (!) to Prieto. According to him the whole disaster occurred because Largo Caballero was determined to defeat the right wing of his own party! And his heavily loaded narrative is reinforced by an appendix in which the author discloses that he accepts the fascist story that the Communists and Socialists were actually preparing a revolution in 1936. The result of this extremism of the left was to drive the whole of the center into the arms of the rebellious army.

Naturally this thesis demands a careful regulation of the accounts. Señor Madariaga has to show that from 1934 to 1936 Gil Robles and the Ceda were a perfectly loyal republican force which merely planned a parliamentary reform of the constitution. And if one accepts Gil Robles's press releases as gospel truth, why, then, the trick is done. But the trick will not fall out so, for the plain truth is that neither the man's supporters nor his enemies believed any such thing. To unite with him in the hope of heading off Franco was impossible. It would have utterly split the republican

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THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER ON PALESTINE

A statement by the American Council for Judaism

Cutting across the broad issues relating to the future of Jews all over the world is the widespread, immediate concern in regard to the British White Paper of 1939. This official document, having taken cognizance of the tense situation created by two conflicting nationalist aspirations, attempts a re-solution of the problem by proposals that include the stoppage of immigration of Jews into Palestine after a fixed quota of immigrants has been exhausted and restrictions on their further acquisition of land in that country.

We of the American Council for Judaism record our unqualified opposition to those provisions. In behalf of the substantial section of American Jews whose views on Jewish problems coincide with ours, we petition our Government to use its best offices to prevail upon the British Government not to proceed with so prejudicial and unjust a policy.

We base our attitude on this fundamental fact: that proposals which exclude Jews, as Jews, from right of entry and restrict Jews, as Jews, from the acquisition of land, do violence to the fundamental concept of democratic equality and thus to the very purposes and ideals to which the United Nations are pledged.

The American Council for Judaism is dedicated to the view that Jews, a religious community, shall have, as of right and not on sufferance, full equality all over the world. As stated in our Declaration of Principles "For our fellow Jew we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals." This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; *equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration.*

We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world. There is no compromise on this basic demand.

The tragic plight of Jews in various parts of the world is the consequence of the break-down or inadequate implementation of the democratic concept which accords equality of rights and expects equality of obligations. Hope for postwar Jews and, indeed, for all mankind is that inequalities which have obtained in the past shall be permanently removed; and that national and international provisions and sanctions will make impossible a continuation or revival of differential treatment. Yet this very objective, for which in part this war is being fought, is violated in the White Paper.

There is yet time to correct this injustice and to reaffirm in ringing terms the principle of equality of opportunity. Sympathy for the victims of Nazi terror calls for the cancellation of so grievous a discrimination. Fidelity to the traditions of democracy and equality which animate the British people, the American people and freedom loving peoples everywhere, calls for the abrogation of a document that projects into the future the very evils and inequities against which the whole civilized world has risen in arms.

We are not unmindful of the nationalist conflict that led to the issuance of the White Paper. Our Statement of Principles declared, "We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Palestine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood, Palestine would today be harboring more refugees from Nazi terror."

The part played by Jewish nationalism, by the Zionist contention for political power, is made clear in the very White Paper that we oppose. Those who read the White Paper in its entirety will find the record of a long history of controversy deriving from nationalist claims, although the British Government time and again, made it clear that a "national home" was not synonymous with Jewish National State. In the face of such declarations, Zionists extended rather than modified their demands that the rights of Jews in Palestine be based upon acceptance of a so-called "Jewish State." This was done in the Biltmore Platform and again in the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference. Such demands have only exacerbated an already serious situation.

We stand at a cross-roads of decision, at a time of indescribable tragedy for our co-religionists in Axis Europe. Are we to be occupied with the creation of a Jewish National State? Or are we to be concerned with human lives, the lives of harassed and driven Jews?

We believe it a crucial wrong to confuse the two. One is a contention for a political ideology. The other is a battle for the elementary rights of men.

At the same time that we appeal that the unjust provisions of the White Paper be annulled, we call upon American Jews to organize in strength, out of deep concern for oppressed Jews everywhere, behind a non-nationalistic program to deal with the total Jewish problem. Beyond the abrogation of the White Paper lies the need for a basic solution. That solution, we believe, can come only when there is world wide recognition of the rights of Jews to full equality. It can come in Palestine only when the pretentions to Jewish Statehood are abandoned and we seek instead freedom of migration opportunity based on incontestable rights and not on special privilege. The declaration of our Statement of Principles is beyond challenge from any quarter. "We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestineans whose religion is Judaism even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism."

(Published in the Information Bulletin of the Council of January 15, 1944)

We invite readers of *The Nation* to send us their opinions and to communicate with us on our program.

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forces and placed the Ceda in power with the army at its back.

Again and again this sheer wrong-headedness involves Madariaga in consecutive contradictions. Trying to absolve the Ceda of the charge of brutal repression he says of the Cabinet of 1934, "The fact remains that this government of conservatives and clericals did not take one single life of the leaders of the revolt [of October, 1934]." Yet on the next page he writes that in January, 1935, there was a Cabinet crisis over the Ceda's demand for execution of those sentenced to death. The simple historical fact, of which Madariaga is perfectly aware, is that because Lerroux would not consent to the executions Gil Robles resigned and brought down the government. As a consequence, in the next coalition Cabinet the Ceda was far stronger, and a "reform" of the constitution became its main consideration.

One of the changes proposed by the Ceda was intended to render the agrarian reform impossible. That the author knows this is apparent. Yet he writes that the Ceda's intention was merely an "attenuation of the drastic powers of expropriation of private property." (Article 44 of the constitution permits the taking over of large estates upon payment of compensation by the state.)

But it would be tiresome to attempt to unravel all the curious knots and tangles which Señor Madariaga in his cold passion for neutrality has tied. His capacity to judge the Ceda correctly provides the test of his solution. Land reform is vital to Spain. He is aware of it. The landowners and their parties are utterly intransigent in their refusal to yield. Señor Madariaga knows this also. If this is so, how is a cold and minimal republicanism of the kind he advocates to deal with this situation? He must know that in December, 1935, the Ceda, at the command of the landlords, again brought down a government in which it had a part rather than increase death duties from 1 to 3½ per cent. Yet the meaning of his advice is that the republicans should commit their country's fortunes to that same sector of opinion.

There can be only one final opinion. The vast learning, the illumination in unessential matters, the very evident anguish with which Señor Madariaga writes of Spain's misfortunes have all been deprived of their effect by this shrinking from reality. "Spain" is a book that should be on every specialist's shelf, but it will be useful as a guide only to that strange wraith who writes editorials on Spain for the New York *Times*.

RALPH BATES

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DRAMA

CHEKHOV'S plays are wrought with great skill and care. So complete and profound was his knowledge of the people and society he wrote about that the end product is distillation rather than document. But the live power of the plays, like that of lyric poetry, comes from a charge of emotion which sets up an infrangible arc of tension—and fills the simplest lines, the most casual remarks, the most quiet situations with light and meaning. The wonder is that he can sustain a dozen characters through two hours of at least seemingly ordinary, often colloquial, talk, and by means of it summon up a world which takes on for us so much reality and vested emotional interest.

At the moment the further wonder is that the iridescent, fragile web of "The Cherry Orchard" is so closely and firmly woven, so tough, that it even withstands the pulling and hauling it gets at the hands of its latest producers.

Most of the characters in "The Cherry Orchard" are eccentric. But their eccentricity, it seems hardly necessary to say, is all of a piece with the world they spring from. What is even more important, they are all encompassed in Chekhov's feeling about that world. He loved it, but his writing gets edge not only from the fact that he knew it was dying but that he could not, despite his love, wish it to survive. The fun he makes of his characters is made within this context. With the Epihodovs, the Pistchiks, the Leonids, the Charlottas he is very gentle. With the Yashas and the Lopahins he is more ruthless. They are pathetic because they are caught between two worlds, and they have the worst traits of both, but they are firmly established in the new world and reconciled to it. With Trofimov he is again gentle because Trofimov *is* the perpetual student, the idealist who must commit himself to the future as idea yet will never be at home among "the villa residents" of any Cherry Orchard development.

This may seem too elementary to set down. But in the present production Yasha, Epihodov, Leonid, and Charlotta are made merely funny, sometimes grotesque—and therefore extraneous and really irrelevant. Yasha resembles a character that James Cagney might play—it would have been even more sensational of course if Cagney could have been persuaded. You might run across Epihodov in any musical show. Leonid is simply made a fool of by Joseph Schildkraut—or is it vice versa? Charlotta is a clown. All are wrenched out of their proper place and proportion. Chekhov's wit is blown up into burlesque, the play pulled out of shape, its texture and tone violated again and again. In the worst scene of all the flirtation between Yasha and the eager Dunyasha is "modernized" into a cheap encounter that might take place in any park on any maid's day off.

Fortunately Madame Ranevsky (Miss LeGallienne), Anya (Lois Hall), Varya (Katherine Emery), and in lesser degree Trofimov (Eduard Franz) have been allowed to cleave to Chekhov. Among them they manage to preserve the spirit of "The Cherry Orchard" despite the chopping, with up-to-date axes, that goes on about them.

Joseph Wood Krutch has described Chekhov's mood as elegiac. I should underline that comment by adding that it is not nostalgic. Between these two moods lies the difference that makes Chekhov's plays endure. His particular world in decay takes on a generic dimension, and for all its local color "The Cherry Orchard" continues to be relevant as well as beautiful.

MARGARET MARSHALL

N. B.: Again I overheard the old remark that nothing happens in "The Cherry Orchard." Nothing happens—except that a world comes to an end.

M. M.

FILMS

"THE MIRACLE OF MORGAN'S Creek," the new Preston Sturges film, seems to me funnier, more adventurous, more abundant, more intelligent, and more encouraging than anything that has been made in Hollywood for years. Yet the more I think of it, the less I esteem it. I have, then, both to praise and defend it, and to attack it.

The essential story is hardly what you would expect to see on an American screen: a volcanically burgeoning small-town girl (Betty Hutton) gets drunk and is impregnated by one of several soldiers, she can't remember which; her father (William Demarest), her younger sister (Diana Lynn), and her devoted 4-F lover (Eddie Bracken) do all they can to help her out; the result is a shambles, from which they are delivered by a "miracle" which entails its own cynical comments on the sanctity of law, order, parenthood, and the American home—to say nothing of a number of cherished pseudo-folk beliefs about bright-lipped youth, childhood sweethearts, Mister Right, and the glamour of war. Sturges tells this story according to a sound principle which has been neglected in Hollywood—except by him—for a long time: in proportion to the inanity and repressiveness of the age you live in, play the age as comedy if you want to get away with murder. The girl's name, Trudy Kockenlocker, of itself relegates her to a comic-strip world in which nothing need be regarded as real; the characters themselves are extremely stylized—a skipping little heifer, a choleric father, an updated Florence Atwater, a classical all-American dope; and the wildly factitious story makes comic virtues of every censor-dodging necessity. Thanks to these devices the Hays office has been either hypnotized into a liberality for which it should be thanked, or has been raped in its sleep.

Having set up these formalized characters, each in a different comic key, and this thin-ice version of the story he is really telling, Sturges has just begun. He also doubles the characters on their own trails, into sharp pathos, into slapstick (some of which falls flat), into farce as daftly unsettling as being licked to death by a lioness, to the edge of tragi-comedy, and into moments of comedy which could emerge only from their full quality as human beings. He plays every twist of his story for sharp

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realism as well as laughs; his small-town doctor, banker, lawyer, and, most notably, Porter Hall as a justice of the peace are bits of comic realism finely graded against the chameleon-like principals. Above all, Sturges carries farther than he has ever done before his bold blends and clashes of comic and realistic angles of attack. In a typically fine scene on Christmas Eve, when Trudy's pregnancy has developed the comic-emotional portentousness of a delayed-action bomb, he manages to sustain an atmosphere of really tender pathos and, at the same time, (1) to cue in "Silent Night," (2) to show irate Constable Kockenlocker hammering the hell out of a recalcitrant Christmas star, (3) to let him comfort his restive daughter with the noble reminder (deleted the second time I saw the film) "You may be waiting for the President of the United States," and (4) to cap that, for Bethlemayhem, by having young Emily inquire, gently, what that cow is doing in the kitchen.

Besides resonating many traditions of comedy against a firm basic realism, the film rests on an apparently complex emotional and philosophic base which seems to me not really complex but simply mature, being—on its smaller scale—at once as nihilistic as Céline, at least as deeply humane as Dickens, and at all times inviolably, genuinely, and intelligently gay. Excepting a few moments when Sturges forces everything too far, the film is also beautifully played, especially by William Demarest, whose performance stands with Paul Lukas's in "The Watch on the Rhine" among the finest I have seen.

But you may, I have to realize, disagree with me. I have incredulously heard some people dismiss the show as "comedy"; they should stick to something really vital and serious like "Zola." Others feel it is too frantic and too rough; it has enough mental, creative, and merely brutal energy for a hundred average pictures. Others object to various errors of taste, mainly connected with making laughs out of pregnancy. Here again I partly agree; but I would rather see pregnancy remain a subject for questionable laughter than see it become taboo against any laughter at all. Still others dislike the film for its multiple attack, its shiftiness of style; but if you accept that principle in Joyce or in Picasso, you will examine with interest how brilliantly it can be applied in moving pictures and how equally promising, as against the lovely euphonies René Clair achieved according to the same principle, astute cacophony can be. For barring Chaplin's this seems to me the largest American attempt, on the level of full consciousness, to stir up from the bottom the whole history and possibility of moving pictures into one broth; to draw, like Clair, on the black-loam, instinctive genius of the Mack Sennett comedies; and to amuse and excite the simplest at once with the most complex customers. In fact, in the degree that this film is disliked by those who see it, whether consciously or passively, I see a measure less of its inadequacies than of the progress of that terrible softening, solemnity, and idealization which, increasing over several years, has all but put an end to the output and intake of good moving pictures in this country.

Yet the more I think about the film, the less I like it. There are too many things that Sturges, once he had won all the victories and set all the things moving which he managed to here, should have achieved unhindered, purely as a good artist; and he has not even attempted them. He is a great broken-field runner; once the field is clear he sits down and laughs. The whole tone of the dialogue, funny and bright as it often is, rests too safely within the pseudo-cute, pseudo-authentic, patronizing diction perfected by Booth Tarkington. And in the stylization of action as well as language it seems to me clear that Sturges holds his characters, and the people they comically represent, and their predicament, and his audience, and the best potentialities of his own work, essentially in contempt. His emotions, his intelligence, his aesthetic ability never fully commit themselves; all the playfulness becomes rather an avoidance of commitment than an extension of means for it. Cynicism, which gives the film much of its virtue, also has it by the throat; the nihilism, the humaneness, even the gaiety become, in that light, mere postures and tones of voices; and whereas nearly all the mischief is successful, nearly every central and final responsibility is shirked. Of course there is always the danger, in trying to meet those ultimate human and aesthetic responsibilities, of losing your gaiety; but that never happened to Mozart—or to René Clair at his best.

I mention Clair again because Sturges has so many similar abilities so richly—and because there is such a difference between the two. Whether or not he ever

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makes another film under favorable circumstances, and up to his best, Clair is one of the few great artists of this century. Sturges, in his middle forties, is still just the most gifted American working in films, vividly successful in the kind of artful-dodging which frustrates Clair; hollow and evasive at those centers in which Clair is so firm. I suspect that Sturges feels that conscience and comedy are incompatible. It would be hard for a man of talent to make a more self-destructive mistake.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

THE last Toscanini recording of a work of major stature was the one of Beethoven's Eighth Symphony about a year and a half ago; then came a recording of a piece by Samuel Barber; and now, after a year or more, comes one of the Overture to Thomas's "Mignon" (11-8545; $1). The opera is a minor work of great charm; and its overture gives us a few of its tunes, including the famous *Connais-tu le pays?* and *Je suis Titania.* Toscanini played it with the N. B. C. Symphony at the first United States Treasury broadcast after the installation of the shell that changed the acoustic conditions of Studio 8H from dead to reverberantly and harshly live; and of course broadcasting practice could not allow the piece to go out to the people of America without the way being prepared by a commentator; so there sat—of all people—Deems Taylor, who chit-chatted away while Toscanini stood waiting with obvious and increasing and justified impatience and distaste. At last Taylor finished and Toscanini could begin; and the phrases of the quiet first part emerged from the orchestra with exquisite inflections and contours that made them "as fresh and glistening as creation itself," leading eventually to the fast section, which also was freshly revealed in its sharply contoured brilliance and verve and grace. The recording, presumably made shortly afterward, reproduces the performance with superb fidelity—even to the hardness and reverberance of Studio 8H; present-day materials make the surfaces of my copy noisy.

Hargail Records has issued a recording of a Sonata for clarinet and piano by the young conductor Leonard Bernstein, performed by the composer with the clarinettist David Oppenheim (Set MW-501; $2.50). It is facile and arid writing in a contemporary contrapuntal style that is incoherent and dissonant; but a friend who plays the recorder remarked that the work must be fun to play. The big bold sounds that Oppenheim produces with his clarinet are appropriate to the music, and Bernstein gets good sounds out of the piano; both instruments are reproduced with life-like fidelity and clarity; and surfaces are surprisingly quiet. On the fourth side Bernstein plays three of his "Seven Anniversaries" for piano, of which "In Memoriam: Natalie Koussevitzky" is moving in its strange way, and "For William Schuman" is an effective comment on the Schuman method. Perhaps the nervous rushing about in "For My Sister Shirley" also has point for those who know sister Shirley. The surface of this side, surprisingly, is noisy.

Of the few records of jazz that have come in recently only one is worth mentioning—that of the Benny Goodman Quartet performance of "The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise" (Columbia 36684), and this one not for Goodman's own twittering but for the exciting brilliance of the unnamed pianist who I would guess is Mel Powell.

For "Rigoletto" the Metropolitan seated me in row Z where only fragments of the orchestra's sound reached me from time to time. For Bellini's "Norma," on the other hand, I was placed in the second row right behind the bass-drum, cymbals, and brass, where my ears were battered to deafness whenever things got majestic and emphatic, and where I got a close look at things that were better seen from a distance and better still not seen at all: the pieces of forest stuck against faded blue-gray cloth sky, and the rest of the Metropolitan's Druid temples and sacred woods (bringing to mind Shaw's description of a Prologue to Boito's "Mefistofele" with "the empty stage and the two ragged holes in a cloth which realize Mr. Harris's modest conception of hell and heaven"); the arms of invisible prompters and stage managers gesticulating to the "Druids, Bards, Priestesses, and Warriors" as they crowded on and off the stage; the absurd posturings and gestures and facial expressions of the principals.

But amid all this there were moments of impressive, affecting illusion, when the tedious stretches of recitative gave way to one of Bellini's great melodies sung by Zinka Milanov. This singer has an extraordinarily beautiful voice, but apparently an insecure method of

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production which will cause her to go through most of a performance of "Don Giovanni" with a tremolo so strong as to obscure pitch, and then suddenly to begin to produce tones that are steady and opulent; and only a few days before the "Norma" performance I had heard her sing in the broadcast of "Un Ballo in Maschera" with tremolo-ridden stridency which had seemed to indicate that the method had damaged the voice. But on the night of this particular performance of "Norma" she had control and security which enabled her to meet every superhuman demand of Bellini's writing with singing that was phenomenal not only in the purity and beauty of the individual tones but in their phraseological continuity and style. Tremolo and stridency appeared momentarily only when dramatic emphasis in the recitatives caused her to force (a former opera-singer remarked that the Metropolitan's singers acquire tremolos from forcing to make themselves heard over the orchestra; to which I answered that they force rather to make themselves heard in the huge and acoustically bad auditorium).

There was also good singing by Bruna Castagna, though her voice has lost its sumptuousness of several years ago, and by Norman Cordon; there was Frederick Jagel's brassy tenor; there was the beautiful voice of Thelma Votipka, which left me wondering again at the Metropolitan rule that bars her from any role requiring her to be heard for more than a total of five minutes. And there was excellent conducting by Cesare Sodero.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

GERTRUDE BAER is international joint chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and editor of its journal.

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Letters to the Editors

A Letter from Litchfield

Dear Sirs: O Little Polemic . . . (Picayune). You must have been badly off for material for your issue of December 25. I wonder what you hoped to accomplish by publishing the article O Little Town . . . (Restricted). Or was it just your manner of wishing Litchfield a Merry Christmas?

It is easy enough to see why the author might write the article. We could hardly expect her, a Southerner, to love the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I understand that the South has never quite forgiven the writer of that very effective, if not quite fair, piece of propaganda. So it is not hard to imagine that your Miss Whitman may have derived some sort of sadistic satisfaction from smearing the birthplace of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Why *The Nation* should cooperate, I would not know.

My part as an unwitting collaborator consisted of a casual conversation with a strange lady caller who seemed only to have a legitimate and proper interest in this historical community. There was no suggestion that material was being sought for the purpose of publication until the aforesaid lady was about to leave, when she said something to the effect that, if an article appeared, I would not be quoted.

As a matter of fact she kept her promise not to quote me pretty well. The alleged quotations are so distorted, embellished, and colored to produce the kind of story she obviously wanted to write about Litchfield that they in effect become misquotations. I am as sure as one can well be so long after the event that I did not say some of the things in the way they are reported; and that several things were said that are not reported at all.

Altogether it does not add up to any adequate or serious view which I now hold, or have ever held, on the questions discussed.

Since my visitor took no notes while we talked, she could hardly be expected to report our conversation accurately, even if she wanted to do so, unless she has a really remarkable memory. That her capacity for remembering is not so remarkable is apparent. She states that the service flag in the Congregational church has forty stars. The correct number is twenty-three, and it was less than that last summer. She also says that the present church building is older than the Beecher church. That also is not true. These are small things, but enough to show that your reporter does not have a good memory either for what she sees or what she hears.

No one here would deny that there is anti-Jewish prejudice in our community. But I am sure that *The Nation's* article lacks much of being a correct appraisal of the situation. I very much doubt whether the Jews—there is more than one—who participate in our community life will appreciate your solicitude, or thank you for your sympathy. And to say that men like Bernard Baruch and Herbert Lehman could not live here sounds pretty silly to this writer.

If *The Nation,* or its reporter from the Sunny South, knows of some quick and easy solution for this problem, you ought to tell the world at once, beginning with your own home town, where, according to the newspapers, this matter, as well as the colored question, is a long way from settlement. I cannot feel that your Christmas article will prove helpful in correcting any of the faults of your neighbor to the north and east. At least one citizen will be inclined to be less friendly and hospitable to strangers until he finds out what they are after. And if all this free advertising you have given our community should encourage people with anti-Semitic views to settle here—already a matter of speculation—our last state will be worse than our first.

I take the liberty to suggest that the editor of *The Nation* and its reporter on our little town take the time to dust off a volume of ancient Jewish writings—more ancient than Lyman Beecher, and reputed to be wise, exceedingly wise; and wherein it is written, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

T. B. A.

Litchfield, Conn., January 10

Miss Whitman Answers Back

Dear Sirs: It is only fair to T. B. A. to say at once that I do have a remarkable memory, well tested in interviews—usually with Southern politicians or mill owners who might be expected to repudiate any revealing utterance.

T. B. A. is at a disadvantage because he regarded our conversation about Litchfield as "casual"; I did not. Indeed, I was shocked by his careless, not to say frivolous-seeming, attitude toward the very serious subject I called to discuss. As he was not impressed by my questions, I am not surprised to find his memory now at fault. It was of course at the start, not the end, of our conversation that I told him—rather boringly, I feared—about my own writing, giving the name of the publishing house where I work and mentioning my own books and magazine articles (to which I must again refer him if he is really interested in my views on religion and Negro rights. As I was not on assignment from *The Nation,* I do not recall mentioning this magazine by name).

May I suggest that had I failed to explain my own status before the end of a longish talk, the conversation with a stranger would have been even less discreet?

I did, of my own accord, assure T. B. A. that I would not quote directly his answers to my questions, or use his name in print; and that promise I kept "pretty well." That I did not keep it in spirit as well as in letter is due entirely to the fact that his viewpoint, as well as the information given me, came to seem a matter for public concern.

As we talked I discovered that the clergyman to whom I had come in good faith to inquire about the Litchfield attitude actually shared, rather than actively deplored, that attitude. Even now, since references to innocent persons are involved, I do not feel free to quote in full those answers to my questions which made this clear; T. B. A. is right in saying that "several things were said that are not reported at all." I realized that the answers were given by an unsuspicious man who had, he told me, just returned from a four months' vacation.

But the substance of those answers

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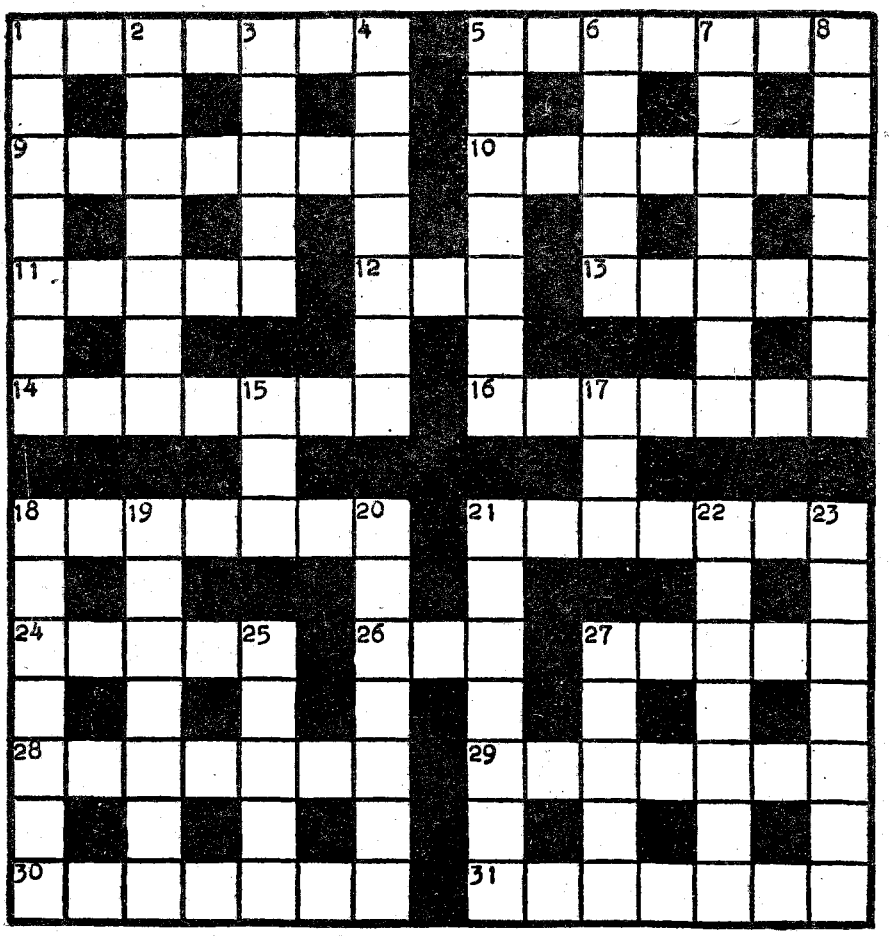
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 50

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 This sails without sails
5 May throw some light on one sort of lace
9 Irreverent, and with the forces of darkness well in the van
10 "There ain't no such animal"!
11 You may feel fed up when it's empty
12 Father—and short as usual
13 One from Ben Bolt made Alice weep with delight
14 Get out of hand (two words, 3 and 4)
16 Rare cry (anag.)
18 Crazy about an island. This doesn't this you, surely!
21 Theirs is grave work
24 To follow your parent closely is something to lay down tenaciously
26 The old god with the goat's feet
27 Character in The Tempest
28 Southey wrote of this school in The Vision of Judgment
29 I parted from her (The Winter's Tale)
30 "He saw; but blasted with excess of light, Closed his eyes in ------- night" (Gray)
31 A light-headed individual

DOWN

1 He commands 1 Across, so skip the first part
2 Pope wrote of -------ing a thing till all men doubt it
3 It sounds more of a cow than a kind of deer
4 A desired change
5 Heaven's artillery
6 Liars in confusion
7 A man from Indiana
8 Where Hamlet told Ophelia to go
15 Hard water
17 One over the eight
18 She makes dresses after a fashion
19 Those who are near this suffer from faulty vision
20 There's a whole epic in pictures
21 A freckle (two words, 3 and 4)
22 Something like a mouth (or if ice is needed, you can easily get that!)
23 I am here with assistance (hyphen, 4 and 3)
25 Diminutive of Hannah
27 With this missile an English artist turns his back on a disturbance

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 49

ACROSS:—1 FLAGS; 4 HOIST; 7 MENU; 9 ORISON; 10 REGAL; 12 BESS; 13 ODES; 15 MELODIC; 17 LASCAR; 18 CRUISE; 19 USA; 21 HABITAT; 23 SUMATRA 24 ERA; 26 UPLIFT; 28 SLATER; 31 FRECKLE; 32 SEAL; 35 PAIN; 36 ADAGE; 37 INDOOR; 38 SAVE; 39 TANKS; 40 EVENT.

DOWN:—1 FURS; 2 ANSWER; 3 SENIORS; 4 HEROIC; 5 IAGO; 6 TALE; 7 MABEL; 8 NOSES; 11 ADDICT; 14 SHEBA; 15 MASTIFF; 16 CRUMPLE; 19 UTE; 20 ASA; 21 HOURS; 22 BALLAD; 25 RECLINE; 27 TRIERS; 28 SLEDGE; 29 TIARA; 30 RANGE; 33 EAST; 34 LAWN; 35 POST.

was too important to be suppressed. And after the formal interview ended, when T. B. A. as a polite host accompanied me to his front steps, he volunteered the remark which I considered myself not only free but obligated to quote: "Shall we say, next time you come we hope you won't find North Street full of Jews?"

Real reporters do not flourish notebooks, but I did, I admit, write that down carefully as soon as I turned the North Street corner. I quoted it exactly as I would have quoted a Nazi authority who might have received me with equal politeness: because there is a war on, a war of ideas about religion and "race," in which no revelation of enemy viewpoint can be picayune.

As for inaccuracies in local color, I must confess that I took the word of a Litchfield Episcopalian about the number of stars in the Congregational service flag, and of a guidebook about the age of the church. Litchfield citizens and a check of the telephone book supplied information about Jewish residents, and until more specific facts are forthcoming I stand by the statement that Jews, plural, do not "participate" in the "community life" of Litchfield.

Indeed, is not the most interesting thing about T. B. A.'s letter the fact that he does not deny, specifically, strongly, or indignantly, any of my statements about Litchfield's prejudices—or his own?

As for his fear lest "all this free advertising you have given our community should encourage people with anti-Semitic views to settle here," if it is true that this is "already a matter of speculation" surely Litchfield property-holders know what to do. Does T. B. A. mean to say that those who will not sell to Jews will welcome anti-Semitic settlers to North Street?

WILLSON WHITMAN

New York, January 15

It's There Now

Dear Sirs: I wrote Mr. Haggin recently that the Chicago Public Library did not carry such books as Tovey's "Essays in Musical Analysis" to combat the influence of Ewen and the like. I protested this directly to the library last summer, but received no acknowledgment; today, consulting the card file, I was pleased to discover that Tovey's "Essays" had been acquired on September 15, 1943. CARL F. SCHMID

Chicago, Ill., January 18

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